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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 2, 1903

PRICE TWO, CENTS

"The Logical Center" to Mrs. Olive M. Johnson-Mrs. Olive M. Johnson to "The Logical Center."

The letters printed below require no explanation, and are, therefore, printed without comment:

"Workingmen of All Countries Unite." SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

Secretary, Wm. J. Eberle, Official Organ, The Socialist Standard 12 Hoff St., Allegheny, Pa. Temporary National Executive

Committee

Pittsburg, Pa., April 7, 1903. Olive Johnson, Minneapolis, Minn.-Dear Comrade: At the Socialist conice held in Philadelphia, Pa., on February 22 of this year, a resolution passed requesting the Temporary at Pittsburg, to issue a Socialist paper

as soon as possible.

This committee has decided that the first issue of this paper shall appear on labor's international holiday, May 1,

The name chosen for the paper is the cialist Standard," and we earnestly e that by wise and well directed eft we shall be able to make it truly standard for Socialist truth.

The committee, having knowledge of ur abilities as a writer and exponent ar Socialist thought, earnestly deed your aid and active co-operation this serious work, and in the name the working class we, therefore, invite you to contribute such articles as you can, regularly from week to week If you cannot contribute from week to week, then contribute from time to time, as your conditions

Articles, whether long or short, treatupon the sociological problems of times, as viewed from a Socialist tandpoint; matters of history containing object lessons or illustrating ideas; of news that tend to throw light the development of the class strug-political and economical matters; wspaper or magazine clippings that ealist Standard, comments on and criticisms of such clippings; hap-penings on the field of capital or laborhese, and many other items too

As the 1st of May is near at hand, as the first number is expected to contain ght pages and as many articles will needed to fill the columns of the ely following numbers, we hope to ive one, or if possible a greater number, of articles from you at your earliest convenience—within a week or ten days

if you can so manage. Kindly inform us by feturn mail what can expect from you in this line, h as to immediate contributions and ture assistance, in order that we may able to arrange accordingly, and

ge, yours fraternally, apprary National Executive Commit-tee. —Per Wm. J. Eberle, Secretary. No. 12 Hoff street, Allegheny, Pa.

Open Letter in Answer to the Above. To the Temporary National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party of Pittaburg, Pa., better known as "The Logical Center;" W. J. Eberle, Secretary—Dear Sirs: Yours of the 7th inst, at hand and the contents noted." To your request for contributions from my pen for the columns of the latest "seven days" wonder" of Socialistic let me answer a most em ic MO! The reasons for that NO. an not be set in too large type suit me, are as follows:

nearly eight years ago I east with the Socialist Labor Party, thorough deliberation and with a realization of what I did. Fully living that the children of the wage ing class are wage slaves by birth-and having abandoned with the at days of remantic childhood the sibility of being elevated time-novel possibility of being circumstant of that class by an affiance to some Ithy lord or by sudden death of an relation. I found myself bound to the wage-slavery h I hated and despised. Learning ong that hard and honest toil never any one an iota higher in the reach any elevation as were class to which I belonged was eleme be permitted to enjoy a more rthy existence. Again, it became that all reform was positively ether aiming at patching up

toward pollution instead of purification. Having at that stage become acquainted with the S. L. P., the rest was easy, and, as I said, after due deliberation and comparison with other parties I cast my lot with it.

These two things were clear to me: First, that only by a political organization, on the basis of the class struggle, could the working class accomplish its emancipation from wage slavery; and, second, that the S. L. P. was the nucleus of such an organization, that would become, for weal or for woe, exactly what the working class had the intelligence and class-consciousness to make it-nothing more and nothing less. Following this formula, I threw myself wholesouled into the movement; and however little I then understood of itphilosophy and the entire width and significance thereof, I fully realized the necessity of discipline, clear vision, straight tactics and undaunted perse verance, and hence the S. L. P. has never drawn the lines too tight, become too "narrow" or demanded too much of its adherents to suit me, and, consequently, the party has never found me among its disgruntled, "liberty loving" or "tired-feeling" spirits. I entered the battle determined to fight it to a finish, and the dark danger clouds which overhang the Revolution and which are today plainly seen on the social horizon

just vet. Let me say this, too, about myself: I was a wage slave when I entered the party and am so yet, though a little differently situated, and never did I look to the MOVEMENT as the thing to better my economic and social circumstances; of the social revolution and the Socialist republic alone do I expect that, hence I never met with personal disappointment in the party and never expect to. Therefore, of course, you should not expect to find me in the ranks of disappointed office-seekers or in league with those who look to the movement as a means of present social elevation.

ought but to spur the revolutionists to

renewed energy, and I for one am far

from ready to hide my head in the sand

Now, as to the S. L. P. No fault has been found with its platform, none with its principles—a good deal with its tactics. But of the S. L. P. tactics we can truly say that "we love them for the enemies they have made," and is there not to-day many an houest, disgruntled worker forced to acknowledge their soundness and logic? In fact, the sum and substance of the fault-finding with the party reduces itself to the single word—Bossism!

Now, granted for the sake of argument (what otherwise no present proof, of course, warrants me to grant) that De Leon and Kuhn are all they have been accused of-the former a pope, a boss, a tyrant, a pirate, a counterfeit, etc., etc., etc.; the latter an unscrupulous politician, a rascal, a trickster and ome other bad things. Why then, in the name of common sense, run away and leave them with the instrumen which we, by great effort and at a great cost, have built up? Would it not be acting more like rational beings to, at a very short notice, land the rascals where they belong? But granted further that the trickiness of the two aforesaid is so enormously great that the whole membership stands powerless and "can not get rid of them." Being thus subjected, rule or ruin befalls the party. Now then, if this is the condition, can you, Mr. Eberie, or any of your asso-clates prove to me how I can better myself by a jump or two-forwards, backwards, sideways or by any of the acrobatic feats performed in the entire animal kingdom? Did the kangaroos in 1808 jump away from "bossism" and "political tricks," when they are now shouting the words at each other all over the land! Are you yourself quite sure that some germs, which upon occasion may develop into bossism and trickism, do not lay latent among the

'As a member of the S. L. P., you ought to understand that I could never become a contributor to your prospec-tive organ (for, though you sail under the name, kindly do not consider me stupid enough to think that an expelled seceded body-or both, as your case is—has any legal or moral right to deek itself in such inery as it could snatch up and carry off on its departure) and I shall not sever my connection with it until I have good grounds doing so.

Prove the following and I am with you: First, that when De Leon and laced in a position to trample on others a their onward and upward march, I her realized too plainly that only as he class to which I belonged was elecannot, constitutionally and orderly like civilized and honorable and self respecting men and women, place them out of harm's way. Second, that nature in constructing this pair did use up all its material for "bossism" and "trickery" that it can dispense with in two or three generations; or else that your purification of it by purifying the duals—an impossible process, as basis than the S. L. P., that such chartendencies of present conditions are actors can get no possible opportunity.

'TIS DONE IN WALL STREET

A STORY THAT THE CAPITALIST PRESS HAS CAREFULLY SHPPRESSED.

Trust Companies' Way of "Doing Business" - Presidents and Directors Throwing Dice For the Right of Way to Rob Depositors-Details of a Recent Event That Actually Took Place.

Here is the true story of the failure of a large trust company located in New Jersey for which a receiver was appointed last February, and which no capitalist paper dared to print at that time. For obvious reasons names are left out -at present.

When the bank examiner was asked a the time of the receiver's appointment if he had any statement to make, he replied: "From looking over the books of the company, I find that the officers and directors indorsed so much paper and borrowed so much money from the institution that their indebtedness to it is more than its entire capital, surplus and undivided profits."

One of the vice-presidents, who is a man of high military titles and otherwise connected with and the protege of leading capitalists in financial and journalistic circles, is shown by the examiner's report to have been liable at the time of closing for \$53,601, of which \$17,500 was his own paper and \$15,101 paper indorsed by him. The g has since paid his indebtedness. The gentleman

The bank examiner says investigation of the books show a deficiency of \$44, 100.12, the assets being only \$485,050.86. against liabilities of \$529,168.98.

The report shows that the officers and directors have borrowed and indorsed for other borrowers to the extent of \$141.133.89, of which \$85.352.92 was located on their own paper.

The bank examiner believes several of the directors are not financially able to meet their liabilities. Some of them are indebted to other banking institu tions, and the examiner says it is extremely doubtful if they can pay.

For a long time previous to th closing of the doors of the trust company evere and repeated criticisms of the banking department of the company has resulted from the loaning of such large sums to the directors, but the criticisms have been disregarded. Special atten tion was often called to the liabilities of two of the leading directors in particular

The liability of one of them is large in comparison with his own available as-The examiner was informed that this particular gentleman is indebted certain National Bank \$20,000 on his own paper, and that he is liable for more as indorser. The exam-\$20,000 iner said that the known assets of this gentleman were so small that the company should not have loaned him money.

The examiner asserts also that the paper of another "debtor" of the concern, who is the brother of its treasurer is of doubtful value and that the financial responsibility of the treasurer and his brother did not warrant the acof the paper as sec

According to the report, the president

Unless you can prove these proposi-

tions I am with the S. L. P., De Leon

or no Le Leon (and the more the merries

as far as I can see), until I lose all faith,

not in the party as such, but in the

working class to control ANY party-

When I look over the names of the

brilliant galaxy of able writers which

constitute the Standard's staff, and when

I recognize them all as once upon a

time contributors and active supporters

of The Daily and Weekly People, then I

ask how can "the success of the paper,

with such a field to draw from, be com

plete," when the success of The Daily

People was more incomplete while these

brilliant stars sparkled in its trail, in

various capacities, than it has ever been

since? How, when they could not make

The Daily People a "literary and agita-

tional success," can they make anything

else so? In fact, the cries of "abuse."

"disgust," etc., were far more frequent

I surmise what you would answer, as

a year ago, when misfortune brought me

to New York, I made acquaintance with

some whose names now adorn your staff

and the great complaint about De Leon

was that it was his practice to dis-

mantle manuscripts, at least it had been

their experience that he was an expert

at pruning. Having myself had but little

experience in that line with the "boss

so far, I felt it best not to commit

myself; but to-day I think I can say

and feel I am warranted, that if any o

your manuscripts were pruned the fault lay not with De Leon, but with your-

of yore than of late.

yours included.

Mexico, whose shares are not quoted on any exchange in the United States, and the trust company loaned on this "collateral" \$22,500 without any apparent security and without information showing that the company would ever be able to pay the amount. Stock of this company was accepted as security for a loan of \$5000 made to another "financier."

These loans were made in violation of Section 7 of the trust company law which requires a margin in collateral securities. In these cases the loan was issued at the par value of the copper stock which stands as the sole security the president and his pal not being financially responsible for the amount, according to the examiner.

Only \$14,002.50 was on hand when the ompany closed its doors, and there were hills to meet amounting to \$60,000, besides \$7,995 owed to banks and paya ble on demand.

Deputy Insurance Commissioner Johnof New Jersey, in interview recently, said that there was nothing in the New Jersey law to prohibit directors from rowing money from their own companies they being on the same footing as individuals.

So much for the bank examiner's renorf and for the statement of Commissioner Johnson on trust company law defining directors' duties to their stockholders, etc.

Now comes the facts, which bank examiners, owing to political pressure, dare not make public.

After January 10, the president of the company called upon the treasurer and secured a loan of \$8500 offering as collateral stock in the said copper company of Mexico, whose shares in he Wall street market would not bring 8 cents per pound. The loan was procured in omething like this fashion:

"Mr. Treasurer, as president of the - copper company of Mexico, I desire to borrow \$8500 from the trust comnany, for which I will dop 100 cellatera equal to said amount in the stock of the copper company of which I am the

Before the treasurer of the institution, could utter a word, the president would walk to the end of the directors table and announce that "as president of the trust company he decreed the stock of the said copper company to be excellent collateral and that the treasurer had better let gentlemen have his loan, and as evidence of good faith he Mr. Treasurer, might retain for his trouble the \$500," which he did on two occasions, for, about the 15th of the same month a similar performance was enacted. All of which is known, but neither papers nor bank examiners dare tell the public-for political reasons, the president and directors being factors in the Republican party of New Jersey, and friends of long standing of Gov ernor Murphy of that State.

But the president and his pal were not getting rid of the surplus of the in stitution fast enough, so on the 21st day of January, the president forged the name of a clerk in the employ of he president's brother, who is a real estate broker, to a note for \$8200. The "thrift," "success," etc.

There is one of your brilliant stars

that I wish to say a good word for; in-

deed, who does not "remember with

pleasure the comprehensive articles from

the pen of such comrades as H. B. Fay.'

So exceedingly pleasant were a few o

them that I have in mind that they

ought to be "embalmed"-because, a

representative specimens of middle-class

muddle-headedness, labeled Socialism

they ought to be greater curiosities in

the museums of the future than the

Egyptian mummies. It is a good old

saying that "man is best judged by the

company he keeps." As I know person-

ally but little of the rest of you, I take

occasion to draw an idea from my knowl-

edge of this one, whom you advertise

as a comprehensive exponent of scien-

tific Socialism; and thus judged the em-

blem of your party ought to be the one mentioned in "Reform and Revolution,"

namely, "Five Sore Fingers on a Hand Far Apart from One Another." So far

from standing for organization, union

order, discipline, obedience to party law,

etc., this man stands for dissension, dis-

order. "liberty of action" and "each man

act of secession from the party, when

general vote, which you demanded, was

pefore the organization and which you

felt was lost, you prove yourselves his

kith and kin. When Fav was not allowed

to use our party organization for his

personal ends, could not exercise his

personal liberty" and set aside party

ws at pleasure, or at least interpre-

it his own way, he "seceded" and is noy

running at large (rumor has it that the Kangaroos in his individual, as in your

is a director in a certain company of | note was not countersigned or indorsed by even the village grocer, but before the treasurer could hand over the funds to the president, the director he had been in conspiracy with and one other director, heard of the transaction and notified the president that they wanted a portion of the plunder. Then a dispute arose as to how it could be dis posed of satisfactorily to all concerned It was then that the president's brain evolved a scheme. It was simply this After business hours let us adjourn to the board room and throw dice-to see who gets the money. They did so.

The director won the money. Three times that week the same process was resorted to for various sums and on February 10, about a week before the institution closed its doors, it is said that the wife of the president purchased from a Fourth avenue. New York, furniture store a half dozen chairs for which she paid \$125 apiece, part of the money her husband robbed the trust company of.

Another trick of this president, et al was upon the receipt of a notice from the bank examiner that he would visit the institution to show a clean bill of health-in a financial sense, by going to the local bank, of which he was a director and borrowing for a day or two sufficient assets to satisfy the examiner when they would be returned to the bank's vaults, pending a return visit from that State official. All of this examiners knew, but it was never made public, for every Republican machine politician with the exception of Chancellor McGill, has moved heaven and earth to prevent the officials of the busted concern from going to Trenton prison for a long term.

Couple the above arraignment of facts with the following interview with one of the directors and then see what protection have the stockholders and the de positors of banking institutions to-day And bear in mind the career of this particular trust company is but a reflex of a great number of kindred institu-

tions throughout the United States. Here is that director's statement as to his stewardship:

"I cannot understand why I am put down as a debtor to the concern. I am vice-president of the trust company and have some stock in it. I got in it because my farm is down near Asbury Park.

"I did borrow some money from the company at various times, just as any one giving satisfactory security could have borrowed, but I paid back every cent as the bank examiner has already testified.

"As for the indebtedness of the direc tors, I know nothing. My duties as vice-president did not require me to pay attention to the details of the company' business, and I was not even there once in six months. That is all I know about the matter. The incident is closed as far as I am concerned."

Readers of The People can see from the above how ably these directors, presidents, vice-presidents, etc., ear their "wages of superintendence," and just how much application they put to the wheels of commerce and how well qualified that class is to write essays on of the committee, I made bold to tell

collective, case were actually too selfrespecting to make a dicker) and talking Socialism (! ? God save the mark), in company with one of the greatest acknowledged freaks in Christendom-Joe Andree, of Merrie England-Appeal to Nonsense and wood-selling fame. During the meeting Joe takes occasion to tell the hearers that Fay is an M. D. (God save that mark, too), lives at 34 Wash avenue South and has always been a "friend of the workingman" (?! the Almighty kindly see to this mark,

As a Socialist and a revolutionist I believe that the most important work of the Socialist movement to-day is organization-thorough, sound, class-conscious disciplined, tight-rope organization-and therefore, I will stay with the party-The Socialist Labor Party of the United States and Canada (as distinguished from your Logical Center brand)-whose aim and effort it is to build up such an organization, even should it be necessary to asume figuratively (thanks to the "31" for the figure) the "roles of Robespierre and Danton" and get the "guilotine" into play.

a law unto himself;" and by your own Now, T. N. E. C., etc., if you wish to print this in your 1st of May number you are welcome. It is the first and last notice I intend to take of you; so, unless you are desirous to help us out of the coal famine, which the cold weather causes us to feel yet, you might as well at once erase my name from that stolen Labor Library list.

Olive M. Johnson. 1931 Bluff street South, Minneapolis Minn., April 15, 1903.

POLITICAL WANDERINGS.

In Which Peffer, Wayland and Freaks and Fakirs Are Weighed and Found Wanting. When Joe Buchanan first learned that

was reading The People he was thor oughly disgusted. He said the paper was a disturber and made vicious and spiteful attacks on men. "Why," said he, "I understand, though I have not read it that it even attacks me." Joe told me that he, too, was a Socialist, but that it was possible for one to be a Socialist and sensible at the same time. When I instanced certain charges, made by The People at the time, against some labor fakir, charges backed up with proofs, Joe refused to pass upon the acts of another in the "red light thrown upon such alleged acts by the unfriendly and unreasonable." Every man, he said, had the right to exercise all the privileges of free citizens. Buchanan's enthusiasm for Bryan was

which he worked decided to support the Democratic nominee. This house supplies patent insides for small papers You can get their matter for any kind of a paper. One man, for instance, edits a Democratic page, still another a "Reform" page. Joe, who was adver-tised as "well and favorably known in labor circles," edited the "Labor" page. The house thought that there would be a greater demand for the anti-Republi can pages, so Joe had to swing into line. Had the Populists repudiated instead of endorsing Bryan, I have no doubt that Joe, driven by his material interests could have kicked over the Populist traces in favor of the Nebraskan.

due to the fact that the concern for

I met many men of queer minds in my political wanderings. On one occasion the Journal of the Knights of Labor contained a letter written by a Jer sey City resident, in which the writer advised the order to vote the Populist ticket. Just at that time we were looking for congressional timber. 11. were so afraid that we would win that we sought the best man possible who would accept. The name of the writer in the K. of L. paper suggested itself to several of us, and a committee was appointed to wait on this, to us, utter stranger, to see if he could be induced to take the risk of an election to Congress. I was one of the committee.

We found a pompous little individual who was glad to see us. He evidently had a mania for seeing his name in print. Not only that but every public man who was rash enough to make an utter ance became a target for a letter from the little gentleman. We were there fully an hour before we got a chance to make known our mission. He talked and talked. It was: "I have expressed my views on that in the Disappearing Nation; let me read you the article. Before he could get breath he would start off declaiming and explaining as he went along. His children were called in to find more scrap books and papers Next we would be regaled with a letter he had written to Senator Sorghum, and perhaps the Senator's answer. One of the committee whispered to me: "If we could get him elected he would know

all the people down there." At length, after sundry exchanges of glances and winks between the members the cock sparow our errand. He was just the man for us and here was the office seeking the man. It was the old story of Cincinnatus at the plow over again.

The little man was greatly overcome He believed with us with but few reser vations, but-he was not a citizen. One of the committee whose polite educa tion had been neglected and who was rather given to making pointed remarks observed that the little man was rather cheeky in advising voters to do what he himself couldn't. Ine little may drew himself up to his full height and said: "I am a citizen of the world and I have the right to my own opinion." We afterward found out that the little man was born in England; and, of all nationalities coming to these shores the Englishman retains his original citi zenship the longest. The last I heard of this citizen of the world he was with the Kangaroos. It don't matter to them whether a man is a citizen or not. have been told that they proposed to nominate non-citizens as candidates, and even solicited non-citizens to sign nominating papers., "What's the difference " they argue, "they won't get elected anyway." I once got a letter from a man who

could, "without assistance," write plat forms. He could hold an audience of 5000 for five hours listening to the words of wisdom that dropped from his lips. He could talk thus twice a day ix days in the week, besides editing a paper and canvassing the State. He had spent over \$3000 in the reform business; when he wrote to me he was broke and offered to work for board and clothes. He was pining for the chance

(Continued from Page 6.) -

Prevented the Building of the Syracusa "Labor Temple."

Syracuse, N. Y., April 25 .- In the fall of 1901, "organized labor" in this city agitated for several weeks to secure the erection of a "Labor Temple." This agitation was largely conducted by the fakirs. All of a sudden the whole proposition fell to the ground. The agitation ceased, for some reason or other; no one seemed to be able to explain why, but, like murder, all those things leak out, sooner or later.

The writer, a few days ago, in conversation with a real estate man, by the name of J. A. Beswick, got the whole story, which gives additional evidence of the corruption of the labor fakir. It also shows how the fakir has the same desires, as his brother, the capitalist, to live on the backs of the working class.

This is how it leaked out. While in conversation with Mr. Beswick, a labor fakir by the name of Joseph La Duc, went by; he is President of the Retail Dry Goods Clerks' Union No. 243. In 1901, during the agitation for the "Labor Temple." he was a trustee of the Trades Assembly. The writer made the remark, as La

Due passed, "there goes a labor fakir." Beswick looked and said: "That's just what he is." This prempted me to ask him what he knew about La Due. He said: "Do you remember when the Trades Assembly was trying to buy the Laconcha. bath house for a Labor Temple?" "Yes." "Well I secured an option on the bath' house from the bank and was going to sell it to the Trades Assembly for \$50,000. The plan of sale was to issue bonds for the \$50,000; take those bonds to the business men and capitalists and dispose of them. If the business men would show a disposition not to buy, why it was intended to threaten them with the boycott. All my business was done through the trustees of the Trades Assembly. On that board was Joseph La-Due, Patrick Lenard (carpenter), and Joseph Michaels (bartender). I am not sure that Michaels was on the board, but he was one of the three men with whom I had to deal, anyhow.

Now, to get this proposition through the assembly, it required work and influence. And those three men were the men that must do it. I expected to make a good thing out of it myself, because that is my business, and I was willing to pay those labor leaders for their work. Mr. Michaels was satisfied with \$300. Pat Lenard was satisfied with a good contract in fixing the building over to suit the assembly, but this La Due wanted \$1000, and as there was nothing left for me I did not do any more. That is why the Trades Assembly Labor Temple scheme did not go through. La Due wanted the whole hog or none." Beswick says he is willing to make an affidavit that the foregoing is true. T.

MAY DAY CELEBRATION.

Monster Mass Meeting of S. L. P .- Fair of S. T. & L. A.

The month of May brings with it International Labor Day, which breathes of freedom-freedom on the part of those who celebrate it from intellectual subjection to the slavery of capitalisttaught modes of reasoning.

This day also breathes of freedom for the not only from intellectual, but from physical slavery-from wageslavery in all its forms.

"He who would be free himself must strike the blow," and those who truly celebrate International Labor Day, members of the Socialist Labor Party already mentally free from the slavery of capitalist thought, are willing to be fully free and ready to strike a blow to that end. They realize, howover, that end many individuals cannot secure the emancination of the workers from wageslavery.

For this reason they call upon their fellow workers to join with them in the celebration of May Day and mke it a lay of agitation and celebration. Such a celebration will be held by the S. L. P. of New York on Saturday evening, May 2, at Cooper Union, which will be addressed by well known expounders of Socialist principles as follows: M. T. Berry, John J. Kinneally, Daniel Do Leon, Frank D. Lyon and James T. Hunter. All workers should attend and make this meeting the rousing success it deserves to be.

On the same evening, at the Beethoven Mannerchor Hall, 210-214 East Fifth street, not more than a stone's throw from Cooper Union, a reception and fair will be held under the auspices of District Alliance 49, S. T. & L. A. the proceeds of which are to be devoted to the carrying on of agitation on the economic field. As this affair will continue till one o'clock in the morning there will be ample opportunity for those who attend the Cooper Unian meeting to visit the fair. Good music will be furnished and dancing will last from 7 p. m. to l a. m. Do not forget the Mass Meeting and the Fair. Let us all attends

S. L.P. MEMBERS NOT AT ALL CAST DOWN BY ITS RESULTS.

They Gird on Their Armor a Little Tighter and Determine Upon Better Methods of Agitation Through the Party Press-What the Election Disclosed in the "Socialist" and Pure and Simple Camps.

Cleveland, O., April 28,-Well, election day is over and the working class are still hugging the chains which bind them to wage-Mavery and show very little inclination to break away. In fact, they seem to rather like their chains. The official count of the vote tells the tale, so far as Cleveland is concerned. Here it is:

Harvey D. Goulder, Republican, 30,-275; Tom L. Johnson, Democrat, 36,-660; Harry D. Thomas, Kangaroo Sociglist, 1.079; Charles O. Bartlett, Prohibitionist, 151; John D. Goerke, Socialist Labor, 334. Johnson's plurality,

It is easy to see from these figure that the Kangaroos have nothing to be proud of. Their vote last fall was 2.100 for the head of their ticket. ick Geiger, their paid secretary and ganizer for Cuyahoga County, said alz months ago at the board of election ms that the "Socialist" party would take great gains this spring and would probably poll about 2,500 votes in Cleveland. Nick proved to be a false prophet and after his pipe dream he oke up the next day after election and that the Kangaroos instead of ng a gain of 400 votes in accordwith his dream, had lost over a usand votes and come out 1,500 es short of his estimate. Nick Gefrer had better get a few pointers m Gresvenor, the man of "figures." As for the Socialist Labor Party rote we are not discouraged. We exted a loss from our vote of 673 last fall, and we got it. So there are no tered hopes, as is the case with the Kangaroos. Our tactics and methods have been proven to be right and impregnable. We are eternally opposed to "boring from within." The Kanfavor it. Consequently they "hored" the "pure and simplers" in re. ways than one. Results out of 140 unions with a claimed membership of 28,800, and admitting for the sake of the argument that every one of their 1,079 votes was a tradesunionist (which is by no means true that two-thirds of the 1,079 were trades-unionists would be about the er figure)-then, by means of "boring from within," they suced in capturing for the Kangaroos shout one trades-unionist out of twenty, surely a glorious (?) vindication of their policy.

With regard to the S. L. P. vote in Cleveland. The weather was against A successful indoor meeting for S. L. P. can not be held at least for a spring campaign. Hence we ere handicapped. And but three outor meetings were held. At the outr meetings we can talk directly to propaganda meetings are held, it seems that none but comrades will attend. Of we were also handlcapped by fact that Tom L. Johnson is perily a very popular man like Mayor es of Toledo and that he favored a in liberal policy with regard to Bunday laws and back legislation. Of half baked Socialists (?) who er wage-slavery with booze to the lition of wage-slavery were led

the Socialist camp.

One thing we have learned. Our must be the Socialist We must get more subscribers The People and must belp The Thatly People financially. To this end st of the comrades have agreed to one day's wages to The Daily ple fund. A paper was circulated is the comrades for pledges and were obtained. It is interesting what wages per day members of S. L. P. get. I presume if some talist. Republican or Democrat uld get the list of names with the ints opposite each, he would say, at are some of those S. L. P. fels kicking about. They ought to be ented Republicans or Democrats. ey are making good wages," But no ist Republican or Democrat will get hold of the lists, so the comrades I not worry about that. I should that the other sections tarough the United States follow the exde of Section Cleveland and get rades and sympathizers to subone day's wages to The Daily fund. Through this plan we make The Daily People self suswho knows?

One of the side-lights of the election leveland was the racehorse runproclivities (nit.) Sol. Southelmer, rly president of the United and Labor Council, whom the ns nominated to catch the bor vote. Well, Mark Hanna and Republicans, bought a gold brick. the elections returns show: Sol. olican, 27,138; Chas. crat, 27,771, Lapp's plural- vited to attend

Who struck Billy Patterson? My! Wasn't that a dandy? Southelmer ran over 3:00 behind his side partner, Harvey Goulder, the president of the Chamber of Commerce, and was beaten by a plurality twice as great as that which Tom Johnson received over Goulder. In fact he was by far the worst beaten man on the ticket and received the lowest vote of any man on the ticket. The fact of the matter was that the rich Republicans scratched Sol. because they had the mistaken idea that he was a 'labor agitator," and the Democratic trades unionists voted the good old Rooster ticket once more and very generally voted it straight.

No wender Sol. has left Cleveland and buried himself in New York city, and thereby hangs a tale. Just before the election, the Democratic trades unionists bestirred themselves. If Sol. had been nominated on the Democratic ticket as was Pat McKenna, who for three terms held the presidency of the Central Labor Union, and who by the way ran ahead of his ticket and was of course elected as councilman-atlarge-then it would have been all right. But he ran on the wrong capitalist ticket and so of course he had to go. Cigarmakers Union No. 17, of which Sol. Southeimer was a member, got up on its hind legs and denounced Sol, for accepting a nomination while president of the United Trades and Labor Council from the Republicans instead of from the Democrats, and witharew him as a delegate to the United Trades and Labor Council. This, of course, created a vacancy in the United Trades and Labor Council and renders the election of a new president of the body necessary.

So, good-bye, Sol, good-bye, We, of the Socialist Labor Party shed no tears over your removal, neither do we rejoice for reasons which we shall

presently relate. As previously reported the United Trades and Labor Council voted to return the credentials of Michael Goldsmith, a notorious crook and labor skate, to the bartender's union. As a sequel to this action Goldsmith was withdrawn as a delegate by the bartenders' union. But, as a salve to his wounded feelings, and a slap at the United Trades and Labor Council, they voted to exonerate him from al charges made by Hayes, Bandlow et al., and elected him a delegate to their next' national convention! So there, now, Hayes and Bandlow will you be good? sald the bartenders.

Now comes the meat in the cocoanut. For the vacancy in the presidency of the United Trades and Labor Council, two pur eand simplers have been nominated, William David, who supported Sol. Southeimer in his aspirations as Republican candidate for the presidency of the City Council, and Thomas Moore, who was never suspected of being a Kangaroo. Now why should a man up a tree rejoice because two rogues have been thrown out, when two rascals come in to take their places. Great transformation scene-Exit Southelmer and Goldsmith. Enter Davio and Moore. And there you are. Two rogues out. Two rascals in. There is nothing gained. There is no occasion for either weeping or rejoicing The United Trades and Labor Council is just where it was before the so-called purging, neither better nor worse off. Whether Davio or Moore is elected president of the United Trades and Labor Council will make no difference to the working classes. They are both pure and simplers, both bling leaders of the blind. If some Mark Hanna or Tom Johnson shall come along in the future and offer either Davio or Moore a political nomination, how quick they will snap it up, a la Southeimer, Oh; Labor! blind giant that thou art! How long will you continue to be deceived by your Southeimer's your Goldsmiths. your Davios and your Moores? How long will you be blind to the fact that. fakirs, the Mark Hannas and the Tom Johnsons are forging new lings in the

chains that bind you to wage-slavery? On to the street corners, comrades, and proclaim the truth from every stump to the deluded wage workers! Push the party press! Subscribe one day's wages to The Daily People fund and when the Ides of November shall have rolled around we shall have no such tale of woe to pour forth as the spring elections give to us, but shall have great cause for rejoicing in the increased vote for the S. L. P. that will roll up, burying capitalists, labor fakirs and all in one common grave!

Special Fund.

[As per circular letter, September, 3, 1901.7 Previously acknowledged, \$6998.10 John J. Meighan, Coytesville, N. J., \$1;

M. Rvan, Winona, Minn., 81: H. Solonion, \$1; Section Holyoke, Mass., \$4; F. W. K., Cleveland, O., \$2; J. Matthews, Cleveland, O., \$1.65; W. J. Holwell, Cleveland, O., \$1.50; John Eiben \$1: Section Milwaukee, Wis., \$10: Carl Sahm, Lynn, Mass., 50 cents; total, \$7021.75.

May-Day in Milwaukee.

Section Milwaukee will this year observe international May Day in Blank's Hall, 318' State street, third floor, on Saturday, May 2, at 8 p. m. The programme which has been arranged for the ocasion will consist of speeches and other appropriate exercises. All readers of The Weekly People are cordially in

The Central Committee.

NTERNATIONAL LABOR

pation Its Aim-The Close Monopoly of Jobs and the Support of Capitalism the Aim of the Other-New Trades Unionism vs. Old Trades Unionism.

With the present labor union difficulties prominently before the people, involving both union and non-union workingmen in considerations of the gravest nature regarding the rights and justice of union claims and union principles, as well as the probable influence of these union methods and labor conditions upon the vital interests of all wage-workers, it seems particularly fitting that some comparison should be made and some observations drawn by close students, such as the Socialist abor Party has trained to understand and to present the facts of the basic composition of present day society.

This comparison can not better be made by another method than by considering the difference between the Labor Day of common acceptance, which occurs in the month of September, and that other Labor Day of vaster importance to workingmen, which has been inaugurated by the Socialist militants of the world and by them observed and commerorated on the first

In the first place we will treat the observance of the September Labor Day and the principles for which it is supposed to stand, as representing the motive and starting point of all the actions on the part of union workingmen which culminate in strikes, in boycotts, and in all the severe industrial disorders following the attempt of labor to establish itself in the enemy's country. For, as the workingmen are concerned, in endeavoring to set and adjust their working conditions on a basis that shall satisfy the producers of all wealth, and at the same time endeavoring to recognize and support politically the class and the system of society which stands for the all-absorbing power and fantastic preponderating rights of the appropriators of wealth produced, they must literally expect what they get.

The principles of unionism as they are paraded before us on the September Labor Day would seem to be, taking them at their face value, that the union working men, having produced wealth and a state of prosperity for the Capitalists whom they have raised to and supported in political power have grown envious and got the swelled head and are now demanding, not an impeachment of the unjust exploitation of the capitalist class, the degrada-tion of labor, and other honors of soclety which make the life of humanity a continuous industrial war; not the abolition of slavery in its present form of wage-labor, with the power of a few individuals to create suffering for the many-in a word-they are not regarding the real fundamental interest of their class to emancipate itself-but they are begging, threatening and striving, by all means known, to force, to make the worst possible use of that force in demanding for themselves, a part of the working class, a place beside the capitalist class in the ability to get ahead of their fellows, by a monopoly of the right to work and to regulate the hours of labor and wages, and all the wage-slave conditions; and so striving and demanding, are kissing, begging, voting, and prostrating themselves before the political power which upholds the system that gives them these things as a temporary and

unwilling concession. It may be said that unionism as taught by these advocates stands for all wage-workers and is to the interest of all alike, but the cold fact is that us hased and thus to put in practice, necessarily excludes the vital interest of the whole working class to the extent that it embraces in its arms the rights of the employing capitalist class to degrade labor by owning the means of production and withholding the right to work, except as they need workers. Whose interout is served by this arrangement? That of the capitalist class. With the workingmen deprived of the right to labor, and the security of life, begging at the mercy of the profit seekers, there must inevitably be a rush for chances at the grinding mill of life; which in a system'like the present, can

never accommodate them all. This is aimly recognized by most workingmen and is given as the basic principal of true unionism, viz., that t is the protection of the interests of all wage-workers. But why, if protection is sought, why not work upon a plan suggested by working class necessity and abolish the struggle for a chance to life by redeeming the means of production and distribution from the private monopoly of a class, thus forever settling the industrial war and admitting all men and all women as useful workers born to a share in the universal rights of wealth production and the opportunities of life?

Is this the object of the September Labor Day unionism? It should be, and Socialist students claim that there can be no true unionism without this object. Yet how many workingmen who carry a good union card, and strike indiscriminately-for what? and win nothing: who boycott for offended dignity and slaughter one capitalist concern to the good advantage of another; who pay big salaries to pro-

Mitchell, and E. E. Clark, who are thoroughly in sympathy and in allegiance with the dirty capitalist labor-fleeceshow many of these men know anything, or ever learned anything from their union about the principles or even the facts which are supposed to be the reason of its existence?

This is a summary of union principles drawn by a wage-slave from observation and experience in union methods, arguments, and accomplishments, from September Labor Day to election day, that other momentous occasion, when they vote as they strikeindiscriminately, and for nothing but to down one capitalist party to the good of another; voting blindly and recklessly for anything but freedom; for any one, but not for the working class. This is what is meant by the unclassconsciousness of the pure and simple union. Let us return to a consideration of that other Labor Day which offers a more cheerful prospect to the unfortunate workingmen who have been ridden and driven and taught patriotism, devotion to leaders, then sunk desperation and despair-anything but classconsciousness and solidarity.

The principles represented and commemorated by the first of May Labor Day are first of all, the national and international solidarity of the working class and their common interest in the affairs of the world, recognizing that ali disputes between capitalist corporations and nations arise over profits gained or to be gained from the wealth producers; and that, without this wealth production and exploitation there could be no capitalist corporations or quarrels between nations. With the Socialist program of the

social operation of production and distribution in the interest of society, the workers would produce for themselves, for no one else, and no one else for them. Exchange of products would be by agreement, war would be useless and industrial disorder would become obselete. These are conclusions from a scientific basis and constitute the object of our efforts in endeavoring to adjust society from its base, and to charge the basic conditions through such means as evolution has brought about, and which manifest themselves in the form of trusts and monopolics of concentrated capital, in the suffering of the decaying middle class and retail fraternity, and the desperate, futile efforts of the working class to understand what it is all about and on which side their interest lies between two classes of robbers. All is chaos seeking adjustment, and adjustment can only be found by the complete predonerance of one idea: that idea must be born of necessity. The working class is the preponderating class. Their necessity is free access to the means of production, controlled by themselves to complain against in case of dissatisfaction; or to be considered unfairly in the distribution of opportunities; or to aivide society in a fight over what should be the common property of all.

This is the solidarity of working class interest, and this is the principle upheld and consistently followed by the workingmen in the Socialist Labor Party who have organized the Social ist Trade and Labor Alliance on classconscious lines to do a work which no other organization has ever yet tried or pretended to do: certainly not the put and simple trade unions which do not believe that capitalism ought to be abolished or that Socialism can be established. These have no principle to offer, on which they could rebuke the entry of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance which seeks to organize the orkingmen into a union which is a true union, i. e., which contains the objective principle of unionism, something for which to organize, something outside of their lot in capitalist wage-

The tactics of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance men are not to vote away wholesale the produce of their labor and then try to win it back retail, but to vote through the Socialist Labor Party for the complete restitution to the working class of the means of production and distribution; not to discriminate between employers as good and bad, fair or unfair, open foes or crafty taffy dispensers, but to regard all alike as beneficiaries of an unjust system, more or 'ess opposed to one another, and equally opposed to any vital concession in the interest of the working class. We choose rather to break clean between wage-slaves and profit takers; and to our ranks all workingmen are eligible when they recognize the principle which is taught and upheld by the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, whose union card means something more than the mere-I belong to a union," or the further phrase-"Because it gives me a job;" whose alm is to vote for the interest of the working class on election day and then work every day in the year with the same object; whose endeavor is to unite the whole working class on the only principle that is broad enough for all workingmen to stand upon and ciple that the working class must dom-

inate society in its own interests. There are some of the distinctive features which make of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance a class-conscious union, backed by the Socialist Labor

liances with any of the parties of the capitalist class. We do not beseech the capitalists for a hearing or place our confidence in their decisions and awards like the capitalist kind of unions which are continually going on strike to secure what they have wonsave the expression! But we appeal to the working class and it is on their intelligence that we rely; if not that, nothing. From this standpoint we freely criticize the work of those who are responsible for the tactics pursued by the pure and simple unions, which are involving the workingmen in continual useless turmoll against each other and stirring up their bad blood against conditions which they could easily abolish by intelligent action, and then leading them into strikes and boycotts which usually win them nothing but hardships and empty victories and the derision of crafty capitalists who have made profit out of their misfortunes; and which, by all these methods destroy the confidence of workingmen in their own class, and then lead them up to the crowning folly at the bailot box, to vote for some oily and beaming friend of labor-those hired men of the capitalist class, who "know better what labor wants than labor itself."

Party and having no entangling al-

To-day these things are being cone, and to-day the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance is hated for its work in showing up the crookedness of principle which causes these very bad examples of raw work now being done by the misleaders of what is know as organized labor. By the large majority of workingmen the first of May Labor Day will pass unnoticed. But we who do notice and observe this day of international importance will steadily continue the work of digging into the heart of the great body of the working class until we have aug out the rotten core which is leading them wrong, and organized them on the constructive principle of solidarity and class integrity in working through the only bona fide labor union and labor party-the S. T. & L. A. and S. L. P .to establish the Socialist Republic.

HANNA TO PARRY.

"Defends" Labor Unions at Steel Workers' Convention.

Columbus, Ohio, April 22.-Senator M. A. Hanna last night replied to the attack upon organized labor, made recently at New Orleans by D. M. Parry, president of the National Association of Manufacturers. Senator Hanna was the guest of honor at a banquet given by delegates to the convention of the

He was invited to speak about the National Civic Federation and what it had accomplished. He first told of the organization of the Civic Federation and the beginning of its work.

and Tin Workers.

Here the speaker read the preface to the constitution and by-laws of the Civic Federation, at the conclusion of which Chairman Bishop pinned on Hanna's coat the badge of the Amalgamated Association.

The Senator paid a tribute to the conservatism of the Amalgamated Association, to which he said is due the policy of agreement, urged a continuance of that policy, and declared that it had for years been his thought and effort to bring about such relations between capital and labor as would do away with strikes. He spoke of the enormous cost of strikes, said the solution of the question is the most important before the American people today and continued:

"I want to allude to the recent utterances of the president of an organization known as the Manufacturers' Association. I have nothing personal against D. M. Parry. I say that it is unfortunate that this question should ization as it exists at the present time. be considered in so public a way, in so drastic a way by one who, from his own statements, does not understand the question.

This is what you call a text: " 'Organized labor knows but one law

and that is the law of physical forcethe law of the Huns and Vandals, the law of savages. All its purposes are accomplished either by actual force or by the threat of force.'

"That is not true." 'The welfare of those who toil in

our factories calls for our most carnest consideration. But what we must protest against is the unwarrantable usurpation of rights and the disastrous industrial policy which characterizes them in their present associated capacity.'

"But to say that there is an unwarrantable usurpation of rights and disaster to industrial policy is absolutely not true. There is no part of business or industrial transactions in which everybody is agreed and satisfied. Just in proportion to a man's ambition, there will be a strife on his part to attain it.

"Organized labor, with characteristic obtuseness, assumes that productive capital has been seized in some piratical manner by those who possess it, and that. therefore, it is legitimate spoils for those who can seize it.'

"Many of the great captains of industry to-day, men who are at the head of very many of our great industrial concerns all over this country, worked at the bench, at the puddling furnace, strong enough to bear them, the prin- at the loom, in the mines and factories. They did not seize anybody's money They earned it by their intelligence and experience. The workingmen of fifty years ago who are still alive, many of them are the employers of to-day. it in their nature to oppress?"

TO FIGHT TOBIN

NEW ENGLAND INDEPENDENT UNIONS FORM FEDERATION.

Leaders Expect Stampede From Boot and Shoe Workers' Union and Have Laid Plans to Wage a More Bitter Struggle Than at Present.

Lynn, Mass., April 25 .- The fight against the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union begun by the Knights of Labor in Lynn continued by the Shoe Workers' Protective Union, of Haverhill, is to be maintained with renewed vigor collectively by a half dozen unions or more in the shoe trade, now independent

An amalgamation of all independent unions of shoe workers is in progress and May 9, at Haverbill, a convention will be held to organize a Federation of Independent Shoe Workers' Labor Unions, embracing all sections of New England.

General features will be planned then, forms of constitution considered and the question of dues and disposition of federation funds discussed. Whether or not the Federation will have a distinct tive trade mark for the shoe factories. has not been determined. Presumably the new federation will affiliate with the American Labor Union though this is a step not fully decided.

Members of the Lynn Knights of Labor for some time have been in conference with leaders of the Shoe Workers' Protective Union of Haverhill, and when the alliance between the two unions was formed a federation of the independent unions in New England was considered. The Lynn and Haverhill strikes against the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. which are still waging the strikes against the same organization elsewhere, which were won, and things of this kind, have delayed the work, but last week Lynn and Haverhill labor leaders met and further details were arraigned.

Tuesday there was a conference of the prominent ones in the organizations, and this morning Master Workman Armstrong, of K. of L. Cutters' Assembly. Lynn, reached an understanding with the Haverhill labor men that resulted in the authorization of the issuance of a general call to all the independent unions of shoe workers in New England, to send delegates to a general convention for organizing the federation which has already been favorably considered by each of the unions.

The distinctive features of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union which have proved obnoxious to the craft will be avoided, and the leaders predict that with the federation formed on a substantial basis there will be many of the craftsmen now in the B. and S. W. U. who will withdraw and cast their lot with the independents. The need of a new general labor organization in the shoe trade is realized and the convention at Haverhill will inaugurate the movement.

The new federation will be composed of the Knights of Labor cutters of Lynn, Dover, N. H., and Haverhill, the Lasters' Protective Unions of Haverhill. North Adams, Marblehead and Lawrence, the Knights of Labor stitchers of Lynn and Haverhill, the machine operators of Haverbill, the turned workmen of Haverhill, Lvnn, Marblehead and Salem, the heel makers of Haverhill and the counter workers of Lynn, Haverhill and Marblehead.

The leaders predict that when the new federation is thoroughly organized that they can stampede many members of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, who are decidedly dissatisfied with that organand the fight will be waged all the more bitterly under the new plans.

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discussed of modern subjects. Before m of er topics appear spasmodic and recessor. The Boer War, the coal strike, the Venezuela complications and even the higher criticism may temporarily rivet attention, only to be compelled by the prominence of other incidents in the complex life of modern civilization to join that endless procession of events nown as recent history.

not so with the trusts. They grow from day to day, acquiring greater power and significance in their growing, cong the world with their varied manifestations and arousing universal inter-est to an absorbing, intense and generhostile pitch.

The trusts are epoch making. The be ng of the capitalist era was marked se concentration of industry in facwies. The beginning of the trust era for it is only in its inception) marks be consolidation of the corporations controlling industry in trusts and their bined actions in groups. It is this caching fact that gives the trusts

or transcendental interest. development of the trust in this has been tremerdous. On Decemr 1, 1902, Meody's "Manual of Seplaced the number of indusinl trusts at 850, with a capitalization of 0,000. If railroad consolidations e added this capitalization reaches the s sum of \$15,000,000,000. More sent figures, those compiled by Repre-stative Littlefield, of Maine, show that on January 1, there were 793 trusts se total capitalization amounted to \$13,750,517. By adding that of the railroads the capitalization reaches dous total of \$25,438,881,608. is aggregate capitalisation represents erly one-seventh the character at \$94,-

In Germany, which follows this country closely in industrial organization, the ts are growing rapidly. The Wall that at the beginning of 1902, 380 trusts in that country, high 300 were manufacturing trusts 80 dealers trusts. Since then there al 80 dealers trusts. Since then there is been an increase to 400, largely due the chemical combinations. The German mats are establishing a national combistion to be affiliated with the Association of German Manufacturers.

md, too, has trusts of about a number, though not so highly de-France, Austria, Rus-

the feregoing facts and figures, we nother reason for the predominating is a occupied by the trusts in the asions of the day. The trust is a sof economic evolution that is being in a wide variety of natio ne and the same time. The trust is aternational problem. This gives its naking feature a more poignant

pite the fact that they are the discussed of modern subjects, the are little understood. They are aged, in the popular mind, by their ment or prospective results—by the in the price of beef and coal or mair probable effects on the retail toas designs—rather than by any knowl-as of their various forms. This is a lous drawback, for the various forms are a direct result of the Once this is firmly grasped, the saibility of destroying trusts by remark methods and the necessity of higher forms of capitalist production.

are adaptations. A trust in ate or personal property is the of real estate or personal prop-a enstedian for the benefit of the the, is the legal, though not the owner or beneficiary of the real or personal property in his care, almisters the estate and is lessponsible for it. A trust, in the mer or owners. This custodian orld, is the legal ownership owners under an agrees trust. It is the legal owner biesgo, Burlington and Quincy, orthern and Northern Pacific posing it are not held liable for the correint of trade, a plan which has

Pools, agreements, combines and con solidations, are not, technically speaking, trusts, though they are in some degree, essentially like them. A pool is merely an organization to prices, or to undertake certain industrial regulations for a prescribed time and purpose. The various railroad traffic and steel associations are pools. They involvé no exchange or transfer of stocks or control of plants.

In agreements, contracts or commo understandings, bind the corporations interested. By means of them producterritory allotted, but the shares and plants of the corporations are left in the hands of their actual owners. There is, in this form of combination, no trust agreement and no trusts, strictly speak ing. The so-called Beef Trust, for instance, was such an agreement.

A combine differs from an agreemen in that an association is formed be tween the corporations interested. This associations perfoms practically the same functions as an agreement, except it may, and often does, in addition, act as a selling agent, while having the pow er to apportion sales and inflict fines for any infraction of its carefully framed rules and regulations. In the combine, as in the agreement, the shares and plants involved are the property of the corporations interested. called Pipe Trust which existed in this country some years ago, was an example of a combine, many of which still exist in the steel and iron industry.

ber of corporations that have given up their separate existences, as far as pos sible, and become one. With the con solidation there is no exterior organization like a trust or a combine, though there may be and are agreements and combinations with other consolidations and with other trusts and combines. The United States Steel Corporation-the Steel Trust-is the best example of a consolidation. In the language of its president, Charles M. Schwab, it is "a ompany of companies," giant ones at that, as they own or control 77 per cent. of the steel and iron industry of the country.

Aside from these specific definitions of trusts in all their forms, there are ome general ones worthy of notice. One se defines a trust as a consolidation, combine, pool or agreement of two or more competing concerns, which es-tablishes a limited monopoly with power to ax prices or rates in any industry or group of industries. Another definition, still better, may be extracted from Frank Vanderlip's words, when he speaks o the movement toward concentration as "the movement to aggregate industrial establishments into single great corporate units." This defines a trust as "a great single corporate unit," which it truly is fast bec

From all of the foregoing, it will be seen that trusts are composed of corporations that have in some degree given up their independent existence and united with other corporations or groups of corporations for the purpose of controlling prduction and distribution. Trusts represent united corporate activity as opposed to independent corporate activity, just as the factory represented concentrated industry as op posed to the scattered domestic indus-try which preceded it. The trust is an other step in the evolution that is so-

Trusts are an evolution from lower to taken away back in the era of small production. The first two men who decided to unite their capital in a partnership began it. Partnerships were found to have certain legal and ec drawbacks. Each partner was liable for all debts incurred regardless of the mount he had invested. No suit could be brought against the partnership with out serving all the partners. Death generally ended it. As a result of these drawbacks there arose the limited partnership. This form limited the period partners. A man forming a partnership with others in active business, could, for instance, advance \$1000, say, and escape liability for any greater amount by office and advertising the fact that he was only a special partner. On the heels of this limited partnership came a system by which shares were allowed, that is, certificates of stock were issued equivalent to the interests of the partners, and could be sold by them to others. A quasi-corporation was thus formed. Logically the next step was the creation of the corporation. According to Black stone, "a corporation is an artificial person created for the preserving in perpetual succession certain rights, which being conferred on natural person would fail in process of time." As wi be seen the corporation insures the continuation of an enterprise. Those composing it may die, but like Tennyson's brook, and unlike partnerships, it goes on forever. Further the individuals com-

been legally condemned by the recent | to do is to contribute to the capital | velopment of machinery, the original in- | talist class-"the financial statesmen"stock and receive a stock certificate in return. This he can stick in a drawer. transfer to his children or others, or sell tificate establishes his interest in the corporation, fixes his liability and gives him wealth without work, that is, if the magnates in control of the corporation do not "do" him out of his stock by divers crooked ways. The corporation was first formed in this country

about 1850. In the formation of big corporations many small stock companies are consol idated and the money required for their development is obtained by raising mortgages on the property, in addition to issuing shares. If the corporation is an entirely new one the mortgages are given, in the form of bonds, on the property that is to be created. This method enables the promoters of corporations to create capital beyond the actual value of the property and pocket millions without giving any return. In recent years most of the bonds and stocks of corporations have been sold to banks. consequently we see great financiers and capitalists like Morgan and Rockfeller, obtaining control of and consolidating powerful financial and banking institu tions, so much so, that the consolidation movement has become a financial move ment headed by organized financiers.

After the corporation was formed, the rust, as specifically defined above, was formed in this country. The first trusts, strictly and technically speaking, were the Sugar and the Standard Oil Trusts In other capitalist countries, the agree ment and the combine preceded trusts; in this, as already shown, they followed them. The adoption of any of these forms of trusts are determined largely by legal or economic considerations. The first consolidation-that of the so-called steel trust-was also formed in this country, The consolida-tion is the highest form of "single corporate units."

Since the formation of consolidations there has arisen a consolidation of consolidations, a trust of trusts, formed by agreements existing between the interest "single corporate units" and guided by the financial interests of the country such as the agreement existing between the steel trust, the railroads and the

shipping trust. The legal and financial growth of cor porations as here outlined was made nec ssary by economic development. When industry was transferred from the home and concentrated in the factory, the application of machinery, ever changing and increasing in size, value and output, necessitated the extension of plants and the expansion of markets, all of them requiring ever larger capital.

This application of machinery was primarily forced by competition. Every manufacturer was compelled to produce cheaper than his competitor in order to undersell him. Often production was exessive and led to bankruptcy and the reorganization of industry. In order to avoid the ruin of competition, combinations were entered into, first by means of partnerships and then through the various other forms of industrial ownership up to the trusts and their combination with other trusts; for the lowering of exchange value and the underselling of competitors were only possible by means of the large capital thus secured Men of large fortune did not care to risk their entire wealth in such undertakings; besides it is more profitable to induce others to invest their money in them and then fleece them. The result was stoc corporations and speculation, the latter Frederick Engels, several capitalists take away one another's wealth; an operation which is not diminished by the fact that banks now finance corporations

Were it not for the evolution of industry thus forced by invention and competition, small capital in the factory would still suffice, and the concentration of capital in the hands of organized financiers. would not have been imperative. At it is, it cannot be undone without wreck ing society. The evolution must continue to still higher forms, i. e., those of Socialism.

The Operation of Trusts.

The trust movement is a financial movement. It is headed by men "who," to quote the Socialist Almanac, "make no distinction between industries, have no preference for one or the other, and view all commodities in the light of their exchange value expressed in money, leaving to technical men in their employ all technical considerations of the manufacturing and commercial order as to their respective use-value." Owing to this fact the capitalists have ceased to exercise the function of superintendence and have merely become stockholders. They have also ceased to be di-vided as the owners of divergent industries as formerly, and are now simply the owners of industry. This will explain why Rockefeller can be prominently identified with such divergent industries as oil producing, hotel keeping and medicine making, while playing golf to get rid of his dyspepsia.

This condition of affairs prevails because the trust is social in operation as

plements of labor, which were extremely simple and capable of individual control and superintendence have grown to such relations with one another, that no one person can handle them. Hundreds and thousands, nay, millions of workers are required to operate them. Consider the steel trust for a moment, in order to realize the force of this fact. In 1902 Chas, M. Schwab, President of the Steel Trust said it employed 600,000 men, in its mills and mines, and on board of its trains and steamers, in all its ramifications. These men are directed by executive committees and technical corps recruited from their own midst and act together in their varying capacities in direct co-operation. All the work is departmentized and specialized, each man performing certain work exclusively, for which he is responsible to a gang boss, he to a foreman, he to a superintendent, he to a general manager, he to the pres ident of the company having the department in charge, and he in turn to the executive committee of the trust. As for the executive head of the Steel Trust, its President, Chas. M. Schwab, while it may appear that he has the greatest responsibility, he really has the least. When the movement for his removal was on foot in the summer of 1902 the Evening Post, of New York City, said: "A change in the presidence of the United States Steel Corporation may easily be given more importance by the public than it really deserves. As head merely of the Carnegie plant. Mr. Schwab may have seemed indispensable. But the work of minute management and control seems impossi ble for any single man when so many and such vast properties are consolidated as we see now united in the Steel Trust: and Mr. Schwab must have long since turned over the larger part of this to competent subordinates. His real duties have been those of what has been called a 'financial statesman,' and, as such the general verdict is probably not far wrong in considering him not highly

successful." An English visitor to this country John Foster, writing in the Nineteenth Century, shows the character of most of "competent subordinates" in the following language: "Time and time again, as I have gone through the workshops of the United States, I have been almost staggered at the mere boys who are managers and heads of departments. It is not unusual to find a man of twenty-four having the control of several thousand men. And the fact that a man is young and unmarried is no reason, in the employer's mind, why he should receive a comparatively small salary. The question of how cheap you can get such men is not considered. No price is too big to give a lad who has brains and adaptiveness. It is recognized that by paying him well, appreciating him, you fire his enthusiasm." The same writer also points out how the technical genius of the race is being utilized by the "financial statesmen," i. e., the financiers at the head of the trust movement, regardless of its origin. Says he "many inventions in active use in America today are the creation of Englishmen which no manufacturer in England thought well to take up. But it was the American who grasped the thing, who altered, adapted and improved the invention and made it invaluable." As every establishment of note in this country has a technical staff of its own, the improvement and adaptation of foreign inventions by them, for the benefit of the financiers, is quite easy; and a proof of the trust by employed labor.

Further this writer shows that the American "financial gentlemen" rely upon their workingmen to make improve ments, though he states the facts amid capitalist platitudes that have been proven to be falsities. Says he: "The workingman knows that if he strikes an improvement it is going to be a good thing for him personally. If he thinks of some alteration whereby he can turn out twice as much he knows the employer won't expect him to turn out twice as much at the same pay." How about John Brislin, who invented the rolling mill table, worth millions, and was defrauded out of it by the Carnegie Company, and is now living in poverty?)

Again, this writer gives us still another glimpse of the social operation of trusts in these words: "Go into the Westinghouse works in East Pittsburg and you will see a thousand girls en gaged in making delicate electric appliances. Go into any of the big shoe man ufactories in Brockton or Lynn, and again you will see thousands of girls."

Commercially the trusts are developed largely by government agencies, by means of the consular system, the increase of the army and navy and the territorial expansion of the nation These involve bloody wars abroad and the creation of militarism at home, to both of which the working class gives its best blood and from both of which it realizes naught but suffering and oppres

The foregoing facts plainly show that the operation of the trusts, like their well as in its formation. With the de- formation is social and that the capidelegate their former functions of superintendence to "Competent subordinates;" while they are merely stockholders who live a parasitic existence, exploiting social labor through their ownership of the capital of the country.

This is an anachronism that must be abolished. It can only be abolished by making capital social in ownership also, that is, by abolishing the capitalist class and inaugurating Socialism.

Effects of the Trust on the Middle and

Working Class. The trusts by creating a small plutocratic class-the "financial statesmen"on the one hand, and a large working class-the "competent subordinates"-on the other, are accentuating class divisions. The trusts are wiping out the middle class and increasing the dependence of the working class. The trusts have decreased wages, increased the cost of living and the employment of women and children, while at the same time intensifying labor. Under their regime, strikes and labor troubles have increased in magnitude and number; and crises have raged with great virulence in Germany and England. This country, it is predicted, will also suffer from a crisis n the near future, one that, it is declared, will be unparallelled in the history of panies. That the trusts are wiping out the

middle class is denied. It is pointed out

that the census of 1900 shows an increase of 512,726 manufacturing establishments, or 44.3 per cent. from 1800 to 1900. The multiplication of establishments is not a sign or middle class growth. Considering, that, as in the case of the tobacco, industry, for instance, competing plants are being established by the tobacco trust to crush its competitors, the multiplication of establishments is a sign of capitalist growth. This fact is confirmed in a variety of other ways. The New York Commercial, referring to the growth of small corporations, points out that a large number of them are formed by men who have sold out their interests to the trusts and embarked with the capital thus secured in new enterprises. Again the same paper is authority for the statement that small corporations are organized by large ones for the purpose of exploiting some new side line or in vention. In these days, when new uses are being discovered for industrial byeproducts, and railroads are developing mines and other properties contiguous to theirs, and corporations are extending their field of operations in a variety of directions, the formation of corpora tions in this manner is very great. Aside from the creation of small corporations by large ones, the creation of new corporations by old corporate interests, is also notable. For instance the cetton mills of the South are owned by northern textile interests; so are southern iron and coal owned by northern iron and coal interests. In the West, leau, zinc, copper, silver, gold and other industries are being exploited by corporations backed by the Rockefeller, Guggenheim Whitney-Ryan-Gould and other syndicates. In the Southwest-in Texas-oil regions are being exploited-new corpo rations and establishments created-by the Standard Oil Company. In the Southwest and Northwest, irrigation and farming companies, and all that appertains thereto, are being created by railroad companies. So it goes all over the capitalist world. Few new capitalists are made by this process, while the old ones grow ever greater.

Now, when it is said that the capitalist class is wiping out the middle the contention is made that middleclass stores and shops are decreasing on the contrary, they may increase in number; but they do not increase under the same conditions that formerly made for independent proprietorship. The middle class is now almost body and soul in the control of the capitalist class and powerless to resent its exactions or invasions. The butchers of the country are in the power of the Beef Trust, the tobacco men are in the grasp of the tobacco trust; dry goods dealers took to Claffin; saloonkeepers are appendages to the brewers' trust; delicatessen stores originate with the men who make the fifty-seven varieties; the sweat shops are capitalized by the manufacturers, and

Again the trust capitalists control the sources of supply and the methods of distribution; so that if a man has capital he cannot compete with them, for he is unable to get raw material or obtain an outlet for his goods. He is crushed. The steel and tobacco trusts are good illustrations of this fact. Finally, since industry has become a matter controlled by "financial statesmen," the origin of new industries becomes more and more dependent on conditions only within their control. During the second week of April it was announced that owing to the financial stringency, the banks refuse to finance any more consolidations or corporations. In this the power of trustified capital is shown, for who will say that the middle class will successfully rush in, with its puny cap-

ital, where large capital dare not tread? These facts show that the middle class is being wiped out as an independ-

ent economic factor and that the work- 1890 the corresponding proportion was ing class is consequently an increasingly dependent class. One time it could escape from wage-slavery into capitalism; but that time is fast disappearing. Where the wage-earner was once the exception he is now the rule; and his numbers are being increased by middle class recruits.

That wages have decreased and the cost of living increased, the following facts and figures will demonstrate: The total amount of wages paid in 1890 was \$1,891,228,321; and in 1900 it was \$2,-330,273,021, showing an increase of \$439,044,700, or 23.2 per cent. The number of laborers among whom this was divided was in 1890, 4,251,613, and in 1900, 5,321,087, showing an increase of 1,069,474, or 25.2 per cent. Thus wages actually declined 2 per cent. But this is not all. In 1900, the product of each worker was valued at \$2450; in 1890. \$2200, or a difference of nearly 10 per cent. In other words, the wage worker got 2 per cent. less in 1900 for producng 10 per cent. more than he did in

John W. Foster, the English visitor already quoted, found that "in all work not actually physical-that is, in work that is clerical, administrative and sopervisory-the wage has decreased." He also says: "The tendency within the next decade will be to pay lower wages in America for mere physical labor.'

As for the cost of living, Dunn's Index of Prices, for June 1, 1900, showed an increase of 2 per cent, over the prices of January 1, 1890. Since 1900, mat ters have grown worse, as every workingman who eats meat and burns coal knows. Dun's Index of Prices showed an increase of 62 per cent. in prices between January 1, 1900, and January 1, 1902. Wages go down, while prices go

Despite these figures, we hear it said that the working class is more prosperous now than ever and that it is increasing the bank deposits of the country. In the matter of bank deposits may be well to quote Frank Vanderlip, Ex-Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

After showing that between the years 1896 to 1892 "the credits represented by individual deposits in banks of all kinds have increased roundly \$4,000,000,000," he asks: "What has brought about this remarkable development of bank credit? The answer must at once come to the mind of any observer of finance, that the principal reason for the expansion of deposits and the accompanying expansion of loans is to be found in the great movement which has been the significant feature in financial affairs of the last half-dozen years-the movement to aggregate industrial establishments into single great corporate units, and to convert the evidence of ownership into corporate securities which have entered actively into the stream of financial operations. Vast amounts of new secur ities have been created in these halfdozen years, based in large measure upon properties which were before held as fixed investments by individuals, or if standing in the form of corporate property the securities of those corporations were more closely held, and in but small measure entered into the financial operations of the day. This movement-tending to convert the evidence of ownership of a great amount of fixed property into a form which has been considered a bank collateral, and which has been made the basis of loans and of corresponding increases of deposits-is undoubtedly the most important single cause for this increase of more than \$4,000,000,000, in bank deposits and bank loans of the vears."

Thus it will be seen that the bank deposits are mainly those of trust owners.

As for the employment of women and children, the census of 1900 gives the increase in the number of men working in manufacturing pursuits at 23.9 per cent.; of women, 28 per cent.; and of children, 39 per cent. The number of women in factories is 1,031,747; of children, 168,624. The employment of women and children has given rise to "race suicide" theories, and child labor agitations, the displacement of adult labor, increase of insanity among women and other acute industrial phenomena It is due to the perfection of machinery. As Foster, our much-quoted English vis itor puts it: "With almost everything done by machinery there is no need of skilled artisanship." "Cheap labor, that is, in comparison to what he would have to pay were his workmen skilled artisans," is accordingly employed by the trust magnete. And women and children are, under the circumstances, the cheapest kind of labor. The intensification of labor is reflected

in the preference given to youth in factories, in the creation of emergency has pitals in connection with large industria plants, in the greater output of American industry, and in the increase of acci-The figures of the last-named dents. phase of intensification are especially appalling. The Insurance Press-an i surance authority-states that the cen sus returns for 1900 indicate that the proportion of deaths from accidental causes is increasing. In 1900 the proportion in 1000 deaths was 57.6. In

53.7, an increase of nearly four deaths per thousand. The total number of accidental deaths in 1900 was 57.513. Of this number 27,649 were contributed by the industrial States of Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Vermont and the District of Columbia. The reports of the authorities of Allegheny County, Pa .- in which is located he city of Pittsburg, the center of the steel and other great trusts-show that 2000 persons met violent death there during 1901, mainly as a result of furnace explosions, converter breakdowns and other mill and factory disasters. The board of coroners for the Borough of Manhattan, Greater New York, in its annual report for 1902, gives the number of deaths from accidental violence as 1965. The report calls attention to the large number of appalling disasters in which numbers of lives were lost. These disasters occurred on the subway, skyscrapers, in railroad tunnels, etc., etc.

These accidental deaths are mainly traceable to the strenuous speed and strain at which capitalism drives the workers under the trust regime.

The increase of strikes and labor trouoles is shown in the statistics of strikes. From 1880 to December 31, 1900, the number of strikes was 22.793. The smallest number, 610, occurred in 1880. while the largest number, 1797, occurred in 1899. The next census of strikes will show a great increase, as they are now rampant all over the country. They do not, as formerly, involve one or two plants, but hundreds, extending, in many cases, into different cities and states, embracing armies of employes, as in the steel workers,' the miners,' and the bridge builders' strikes. The use of the injunction also supports our contention. There are no figures at hand, but daily experience shows that there is an increase. Boards of conciliation and arbitration also have more to do, while in all directions the crack of the militia's rifle and the whack of the policeman's club is heard, giving proof that the antagonism between capital and labor increases rather than diminishes under the trust form of industry.

The trust method of overcapitalization and of selling dear at home in order to sell cheap abroad, so that the world's markets may be captured, has resulted in an increase in labor and the cost of living that the working class are seeking to equalize by demanding higher wages. Thus it is that strikes and labor troubles increase.

In the matter of crises, those of Gernany and England are fresh to mind. It was but recently that statistics were printed in the capitalist press showing the decline of trade and the number of unemployed in those countries. Harrowing tales were told of the distress of the memployed working class in both countries, while capitalistic morals were drawn on the results of overcapitalization and wars to promote territorial expansion. Now it is predicted that the nited States will soon have to face the same condition of affairs, only on a far

The trust regime in industry has accentuated all the former evils of capitalism, driving the workers into greater dependence, greater suffering, and greater revolt. It must be replaced by a better and more humane system, a system in which the benefits of consolidation will redound to the millions who operate the trusts and not to the few who own and control them.

The Remedy for Trusts.

Trusts have many opponents. Their effects create loud demands for a remedy. To these demands many answers are given. It is said that trusts have run their course and that consolidation is ended. Disintegration by the process of law and competition is urged. Finally, it is claimed the trust is but a passing phase of industrial develop-ment that will soon disappear.

The belief that consolidation has run its course is absurd. The unification of industry is far from ended. Who will say that trust will not consolidate with trust, under the auspices of the capitalist financiers, as corporation consolidated with corporation? In retail distribution and agriculture there is still much to be directly done. A beginning has well been made in the chain-ofstores system and the corporation farms; but direct consolidation, such as prevails in manufacture, transportation and banking, is still in its infancy.

Disintegration by law and competition. s equally nonsensical. Trusts, as was shown in the consideration of their formation, owe their origin to legal and competitive causes. It is a fact that trusts have thriven despite the increase of laws meant to curb their growth. The reason is not far to seek. Trusts are primarily caused by the changes in the tools of production and distributionthe economic conditions-that form the basis of society. Law is only the reflex, not the creator of those economic conditions. The trusts are outliving and outstripping the middle-class conditions in which the anti-trust laws enacted. hence their triumph. Competition with trusts is only possible on a trust scale. It requires a capitalization that is tre-

Continued on page 6.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED 1896.....36,564 1900......34,191 IN 1902......53,617

THE S. L. P. MAN.

The emphasis of editorial space is the meed of the following correspondence received at this office:

Butte, Mont., April 14, 1903. To The Daily and Weekly Peoplenumber of the members of the "Socialist." alias Social Democratic party here are getting tired of the rot dished out by the freaks of that organization. Socialist Labor Party men have made them admit in public that the socalled Socialist party got \$1500 in the Fall of 1900 from the Standard Oil Company, or Anaconda Copper Mining Company, to help carry on their cam

paign.

Mills was here and explained why they took it; but said that they never would take money again from the cap-

They elected an Alderman here We will watch him and friends in Anaconda to see if they appropriate any money for armories.

We are working for The Monthly People, and expect to send more subs soon.

Fraternally, P. J. Dwyer. It is not agitation only, and of the right kind; it is not education only, and of the right kind; nor yet is it organupon which, at certain critical periods in history of man, depends the course of events. The fate of great historic Movements, big with progress, ever and anon trembles in the scales. Not all the agitational, not all the educational, nor yet all the organizational work, put in, in their behalf, entirely suffices to carry them through. Such work is useful, it is necessary, it is indispensable, but it is not enough. A time comes when something more is wanted. That something, that determines the course of events, is MAN,-the man of firmness, the man of determination, the man who becomes the incarnation of the solid foundations, of the vigor and the aspirations of a Movement,-undeterrable, unshakable, whatsition may be that beat against and threaten) to overwhelm him. Such was Mirabeau in the French Revolution; such was Hampden in England before him; such was Pelavo in Spain many centuries earlier; such were Sucre and Patrick Henry on the North and South American continents. Each in his turn stood up as a bulwark of the Future, and the flood against that which they stood for receded in impotence.

It is just so to-day with the Socialist Movement in America, as the letter of the above-cited Comrade demonstrates In Maine, in Massachusetts, in Rhodo Island and Connecticut; in New York. New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Kentucký and Michigan; in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Wisconsin and Minnesota; and elean across the continent to the Pacific States, and down to the Gulf State of Texas,-everywhere the sturdy S. L. P. man is found, a dike in his locality inst the waves of usurpation and tion, a fort against the predatory bands of impostorship, a rallying point for the Revolution.

That wireless telegraphy that speeds along the currents of nebility of aspirations, grounded on soundness and one s of purpose, flashes the thrill from Butte, Mout., to the citadels of the S. L. P. throughout the length and breadth of the land; and from these it is flashed back to North-West,-

"We are each at our posts!"

Brand new labor parties galore are ing all over the country. News tective League of Labor." with headquarters in Washington, D. C.; of the "Socialist Labor League," with headarters in a pill and corn-cuse empowhose mystical initials prob-"Only Possible Logiably stand for the "Only Possible Log cal Center," with headquarters in rigorous imagination in Allegheny cou yet it is said that the v

THE WHY OF THE WHEREFORE.

All conditions have their organized form, and all organized forms have their visible and audible exponent. Mr. David M. Parry is the visible and audible exponent of the organized form-the National Association of Manufacturersthat the condition of the non-plutocratically operated manufactures of the land has taken shape in. What Mr. Parry says is, accordingly, typical of that which he typifles.

In the course of capitalist evolution, the individual holders of capital do not move in even step. A thousand and one things tend to impart to each a different rate of velocity. It thus happens that, after a time, the aspect these holders of capital present is very much like that of a race course: the competitors, after starting abreast of one another, are strung along the line, with large stretches of daylight between the one and the other, the foremost and the hindmost. In this course, the one-time capitalist set breaks up into sub-sets. The foremost touches on plutocracy, the hindmost drops to the ragged edge of middle class existence; and between these two extremes, there are all shades. The National Association of Manufacturers is made up of the latter elements: while they have succeeded in preserving their capitalist feature, they have been distanced in the race toward the plutocratic goal. It goes without saying that a serious

conflict immediately breaks out between

the two sets, the "distanced" and the "distancers",-between the element, on the one hand, whose organized form finds its expression in a National Association of Manufacturers, with a David M. Parry as its visible exponent, and the element, whose organized form finds its expression in a Civic Federation, with an Hon. Marcus Aurelius Hanna as its head and spokesman, on the other. It, furthermore, goes without saying that, in this conflict, the Gompers-Mitchell, or pure and simple form of trades unionism is captured by the distancers" and is operated by them against the "distanced." As a structure. based on the theory of "harmony between employer and employee", the posture of the Gompers-Mitchell trades union is that of the beggar; it must solicit favors. Beggars ever turn to the richest looking. Whether taised in a Spanish-speaking country or not, they instinctively act obedient to the deep philosophy of the Spanish proverb: Him who leans against a good tree, a good shade shelters." As a result of both their own instincts and the action of the plutocratic, Civic Federation, element, the Gompers-Mitchell trades union becomes a weapon of warfare in the hands of the "distancers". The weapon is plied, of course, on the heads and shins, the backs and noses of the "distanced." Being the visible type of these, Mr. Parry receives these blows on his vicarious head and shin; and his vicarious back and nose bleed. What else must be expected but that he should crie out, and ecome audible? He does and did, and this is what he ejaculated:

"There must be something radically wrong in the position of organized labor (pure and simple or Gompers-Mitchell unionism) when 600 American manufacturers get together and adopt resoluis were indorsed in New Orleans

By that one utterance, Mr. Parry vindicated his type-qualities of the element that he speaks (and feels?) for. That element-the element of the "distanced" in the race of capitalists-never realize that the "something" that is "wrong" is with themselves. Fain would they, but they can't :- THEY ARE UN-

THE TROUBLE IN "THE LABOR UTOPIA."

In Dayton, Ohio, there is situated cash register manufactory that is known far and wide as "The Labor Utopia." It is a model factory, where workers' betterment schemes are in vogue, and an attempt is being made to make capital and labor work together in harmony.

Events are now transpiring that show that the place is well-named. Labor troubles, threatening a strike of the 5000 employes and necessitating hurried official action, have arisen. What is the matter? Why this discord where all is purposely planned in the interest of peace? Let the news despatch tell

the tale: "President Patterson is weary of the labor troubles and threatens to close the plant and move to Europe to live unless some assurance is given that the company will have no more difficulty with the men. General Manager Chalmers quoted President Patterson as saving he was not running the plant to make ney, but with the intention of mak- | rolls, with joy

ing it the model factory of the worlda place where capital and labor might work together in perfect harmony-and if he thought he could not accomplish this he would 'go abroad and live rather than worzy himself with constant turmoil with employes."

In those words one sees the secret of the trouble in "The Labor Utopia." They are the words of a man who regards his employes as his inferiors, to be subdued by threats that his superior economic condition can enforce to their disadvantage-they are the words of a master to his slaves. As such they show that harmony between capital and labor is only possible when labor has reached the coolies' stage and is no longer capable of resistance.

The labor utopias are bound to be utopias. They attempt to harmonize a dominant and a dependent-a fleecing and a fleeced-class, between whom there are no mutual interests; and, between whom, because of other antagonistic relations, such interests can never exist, as long as a spark of manhood and womanbood exists in the breasts of the working class. And this is a true of Europe, as it is of this country. The paternalistic Patterson may fly to Europe, but he will find, as did Herr Krupp, that even there labor utopias cannot escape the disastrous workings of the laws underlying the class struggle.

WE TOLD YOU SO!

Before us lies, spread out in all the glory of Gothic type and rotundity of the German sentence, a paper, for which, it must be confessed, we have a soft spot in our heart,-the Milwaukee, Wis., "Wahrheit." It is a Social Democratic, alias "Socialist" party paper. That, certainly, is not to its, or anybody else's credit. But in justice it must be mentioned that it is the only paper of its party that actually gagged at political bed-fellowship with the rotten crew that runs the "Volkszeitung." Now this "Wahrheit." with date of the 18th instant has this to say on the Socialist Labor Party:

"It is obvious that the S. L. P. has a negative mission to fill, especially in the trades union movement. . . Where these unclean elements are still cominant in the trades union movement, the & L. P. can be positively

Stick a pin there. Now, there are other things also obvious. Among these is the fact that the Social Democratic, alias "Socialist" party has hitherto claimed for itself the job of exterminating these "unclean elements" in the Unions. Indeed, wherever a member of that party could be got to drop balderdash and blackguardism, and to decently state the difference between his party and the S. L. P., the point was always made that, while the S. L. P. is of the opinion that the unclean elements who dominate the Unions cannot be downed except by "boring from without," the S. P. holds that the downing can not be achieved except by "boring from within." The S. L. P., accordingly, was pronounced harmful and useless. And now comes an S. P. paper and recognizes that the S. L. P. policy is "positively useful." The point is yielded; and in yielding it a valuable admission is made. It is this:

"We have tried it; and failed. Boring from within is pie for the unclean elements.' The only way to war upon them is 'from without.' Our horing from within' has proved an egregious failure."

We told you so! The devil can not be fought by voluntarily paying dues to him, or by placing oneself where he can be hit by the pevil. We told you so!

AND YET ANOTHER "DAILY PEOPLE LIE"!

A comrade from Houston, Texas writes to inquire whether there is "any pique at headquarters against Texas." His complaint is, as he puts it, that-

"I sent you several months ago a local gem of a 'Daily People Lie.' It never was published. Can it be that you are down on Texas, and don't want her to contribute her share to the demonstration of the inter-State corruption of the so-called Socialist party?"

Of course, the comrade jokes. His item was not published at the time, sim ply because it did not come accompanied with the official documents, without which, THE PEOPLE does not take cognizance of such matters. Now that the comrade forwards the necessary documents, the gem-it is a gem; it steps abreast, even ahead, of the Bogus Socialist Morris Eichman's performance; could more be said?-is entered on the

In Harris county, Texas, there is a politician, E. H. Vasner by name. The Bogus Socialist, alias Social Democratic, Morris Eichman of West Hoboken, N. J., ran simultaneously on the ticket of the so-called Socialist party and on those of the Democratic, the Republican and the "Citizens'" party. As an illustration of how his party fights all the parties of the capitalist class, he ran on the tickets of all, with the knowledge, consent and approval of his "Socialist" organization. The Houston, Harris Co., Tex., gentleman does as much -almost better. the mail-order houses' when and where-He runs for office on the anti-silver and ever possible. Just now they are atpro-gold Republican ticket, on the antigold and pro-silver Democratic ticket, on plaints against a recent order of the Asthe anti-Republican and anti-Democratic Populist ticket, and, for good measure, postmasters throughout the country to on the "anti-Republican, anti-Democratic and anti-Populist," so-called Socialist ticket. Accordingly, he runs simultaneously on the pro-Trust capitalist, the tablishments, which obtain the addresses of the patrons and send them their cataanti-Trust capitalist, the anti-Trust middle class and the (presumably?) national-Trust workingman's party tickets! Give the devil his due. The Social

Democratic, alias Socialist party, is not, as some wicked people claim, "a different thing in different places." It is one and the same in New Jersey and California; in Texas and Illinois or Ohio; in Massa chusetts and Colorado; in Washington state and New York,-CORRUPT. Neither the East nor the West; neither the North nor the South; nor yet the Center holds the monopoly. Everywhere, the Social Democratic party presents the same aspect, "Millerandism,"-CORRUP-

The documents on this Harris Co. Tex., "Daily People Lie" are in this office for inspection. No forgeries, either.]

BACK-PARLOR CONVENTIONS.

It will be none the fault of the two or three score property magnates-possibly the five score-who manoeuvre the political ship of the nation, if the trick by which they manage always to come out on top escapes detection. Their manoeuvres at this season, preparatory to the Presidential campaign, are almost

The innocent believe that there are political conflicts at the recurring elections, especially the Presidential. And they take sides; and grow enthusiastic or violent; and await the result with of Hosts. May they who occupy this bated breath. Indeed, appearances help the deception. It is certain that the candidates themselves generally take themselves seriously; they go deep into their pockets: and in all carnestness fight their adversaries. Sticking to Presidential contests, there is only one instance since 1872-the exception being the Presidential campaign of 1806-when the nominees of the two great parties were not both dictated by the same set of men .- the two, three or five score property magnates above referred to. They look over the field. "If 'all's clear" they nominate two candidates, one for each party, that are both acceptable And then this set is through; they go off to their own pleasure haunts, and let "the voters entertain themselves." I "all's not clear," then these back-parlor conventions have a harder time of it. and the "delegates," individually, after the "conventions." In such cases they must determine, first, upon a safe man; secondly upon a stool-pigeon; and they have to determine which party shall take the stool-pigeon, and which the safe man. That being done, they have to postpone going to their pleasure haunts. They know that they are dealing with universal suffrage. They act accordingly. They then take a hand in the cam paign. They must make large appropriations, and exert their skill in manoeu vring: their lieutenants and sub-lieutenants have to be directed and watched over,-all in the interest of the safe can didate, who, of course, is clected.

ting their coal for nothing for twenty five years, "Whine like a lot of whipped curs when a decent remunerative price is asked by the miners," is remarkable as the latest manifestation of the contempt The political situation just now is of in which the plutocrats of the country the "all's not clear" stamp. Acordingholds its inhabitants. It is on a par with Vanderbilt's famous "the public be ly, what's agitating our two, three or five score magnates is the discovery of damned." What is more natural than that such contempt should exist? Here a fit stool-pigeon. Shall he be decreed are millions of presumably intelligent as the candidate of the Democratic men and women who relegate the ownparty? shall he be decreed as the candiership and control of great fuel supplies date of the Republican party? The to the exploitation of a few individuals and are foolish enough to believe that question is not yet settled. Whoever such conduct redounds to their benefit, reads intelligently the leading plutoexperience to the contrary notwithstandcratic press of the country, especially ing. Who would not feel contempt for the Republican, can not fail to perceive such men and women, if they profited that THAT question is THE question by the actions? that, just now is engaging the thoughts The Omaha conflict between employe of the coterie which, in a back-parlor and employe increases in intensity. Union men are resigning from the militin and em convention, will designate the candidates plevers have taken the aggressive. They that, in 1904, are to keep the people in false gaze, and the capitalist class safe.

Take the hint: read and ponder.

that it has been defunct many years and

needs to be writter anew.

take a few lessons in the Hanna art of defeating labor with the collaboration of the labor fakirs, a la Gompers and the Civic Federation. The Declaration of Independence is said The President is astounded at the im o be fading and will soon be no more. mense number of wild animals that Yel-Why, many workingmen are of the opinior lowstone Park shelters. He ought to know—the park sheltered him a couple of

HANNA CLUCKING.

The free rural mail deliveries are

aiding the work of consolidation in an

unexpected manner. For some time past

small store keepers have felt the severe

effects of mail-order houses on their

trade. As these houses do a big retail

business, without the aid of jobbers,

they are enabled, with the cheap con-

veniences offered by the mail, to under-

sell the small store keeper and draw

their patronage from over an extensive

territory-a territory that is very ex-

tensive when compared with that of

the limited area to which the small store

keeper is confined. The small store

keepers have, of course, counteracted

tempting to do it through the Postoffice

Department. They have lodged com-

sistant Postmaster-General instructing

prepare lists of rural delivery routes

that the trade of country store keepers

has been reduced by city mail-order es-

logues. The postoffice officials admit that,

as a result of the free rural aclivery the

mail-order business has grown immense-

ly; but they show no inclination to ac-

cede to the demands of the store keep-

ers. They claim that free delivery bene-

fits the greater number of people, al-

though it may be a disadvantage to the

few. This was just what was to be

expected. The government can always

be relied on to declare in favor of ad-

vanced capitalism. That's what it's there

for. . As for the small store keeper, he

has got to go. All the economic forces

in society are working against bim. It

would be a strange anomaly if industry,

commerce and agriculture were laid hold

of by concentration, while distribution

escaped it. That would be strange,

Frederick Engels once defined stock

speculating as "an operation by which

the several capitalists mutually take

away one another's capital." That this

definition is true the history of Black

Friday and the various stock swindles

now engaging general attention in the

fights of Keene vs. Harriman, Gates vs.

So great are the gains derived from

this capitalist method of robbery that

it is refined by art and sanctified by re-ligion. On April 22, a new three million

dollar stock exchange was opened in this

city that is an architectural and sculp-

tural beauty. A dedicatory prayer was

"O Lord, we ask Thy blessing on the

action of this day and the acceptance of

the dedication of this house. The silver

is Thine and the gold is Thine, O Lord

house and do business within it be true

and just, providing things honest in the

Buckley once said that "Knowledge

is the handmaid of ignorance." Had he

been at the dedication of the stock ex-

change, he would have said that art and

religion are the handmaids of capitalist

Whenever violence is done in an in-

"the wild and turbulent foreigners

dustrial conflict it is always attributed

whose oppression under monarchy has

deprived them of the ability to appre-

ciate the law-abiding methods pursued

by the native born in their attempts to

rectify injustice," etc., etc. The native

born are crowned as the exponents of

"law and order," and all the virtues that

uphold the capitalist system. Are the native born all they are said to be? Let

the following, from a portion of the country where foreign influence is par-

ticularly unknown, answer the question:

rie dam on Bayou Lamourie, near Alex

farmers living in the neighborhood. Four

kegs of powder were used and the dam

River and Bayon Levee Board, at the

request of the people living on the bayou

below who were subject to floods and freshets. This year the phenomenal rains have caused the flooding of the land

above the dam. The people thus in-jured credited the overflow to the dam

rather than to the true cause-the

The sentiment expressed by the coun

sel of the Reading Railroad Company

that the people of New York after get-

completely wrecked. The dam was

andria, was blown up last night

"New Orleans, April 19 .- The Lamou-

sight of men and in Thy sight."

read, in part, as follows:

Morgan, etc., prove beyond doubt.

nd addresses of patrons. They contend

Like a good, sensible kind-hearted hen, when kites threaten her chicks. hen Hanna, his chicks being insulted by Mr. Parry of the American Association of Manufacturers, clucked a series of clucks as the guest of honor at the banquet tendered in Columbus, O., on the 21st instant to the convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, and cuddled his chicks warmly under his downy wings. This was as it should be. Every link in the performance-from Parry's denunciation to Hanna's words of comfort-was logical.

But Hanna, besides being a kind ben is a wise hen. His apology for and even justification of his chicks might set bees a-buzzing in their bonnets. The danger of this Hanna knows but too well. Accordingly be felt it incumbent upon himself to administer to them a mental hypodermic injection to keep them where he wants. It was clucked in these words:

"Many of the great captains of infustry to-day, men who are at the head of very many of our great industrial concerns all over this country worked at the bench, at the puddling furnace, at the loom, in the mines and factories. They did not seize anybody's money. They earned it by their intelligence and experience. The workingmen of fifty years ago, who are still alive, many of them, are the employers of to-day."

Kings also "rise from the ranks"; and among their Lords and Ladies not a few were raised from the dirt into "nobility," with the King's aid These are facts. Say, then, that one of these Kings, facing a collection of his vassals, some of whom have noses slit. others hands chopped off, others ears cropped-slit, chopped off and cropped for "lese majeste"-were to address them as follows:

"Many of the Kings, of to-day, men who are at the head of very many great nations all over the world worked one time in the trenches, at the guns, in the camp, and in the foraging departments of the army. They old not selze anybody's crown. They earned it by bravery and boldness. The common soldiers of fifty or a hundred years ago, who are still alive, many of them, are barons, dukes and marquises to-day."

Would not such a King be telling an actual truth, and yet suggesting an actual falsehood? The King "rises from the ranks"-too true! A fact he does not always like to admit, being rather inclined to have himser, considered as descended from heaven, hence inviolate, just as happens with our Hanna capitalists. But once a King. there can be none other beside him in that country (industry): the chance of all others to the distinction is in direct ratio with his chances of being cashiered. And so with his barons dukes and marquises: a vacancy must precede, or be created, for the elevation of "new men." Exactly the same with the "Captains of Industry," and their "nobility" the "employers."

It was the veriest mental hypodermic injection that hen Hanna clucked to his assembled chicks, when he held out to them- wage-slaves-the lury prospect of a Captainship of Industry. In the olden days in the South the "white trash" used be narcotized into enthusiasm for negro chattel slavery with the lure that, some day, some how, they might, could, would or possibly should be slave holders themselves. It would be interesting to learn how many of hen Hanna's chickens at the banquet succumbed to the

In the meantime kite Parry and hen Hanna are plucking each others built on Bayou Lamourie by the Red feathers.

During the coal strike arbitration hearing testimony was given to the effect that while some of the operators built company hospitals for their employes, they also submitted them to the most galling exactions. Krupp's old age insurance has been shown to have been a species of refined swindle, being paid for by the men themselves at an expense greater, far greater, than that expended in return on them. In numerous other cases capitalist philanthropy has been exposed as a means to intensify the capitalist exploitation. In addition, its paternalistic qualities have rendered it oppressive and degrading.

The above facts were called to mind by reading the following, which has all the ear marks of being an institution such as those described:

"Pueblo, Colo., April 25 .- Dr. R. W. Corwin, of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, announced to day that a new department would be added to the already extensive sociological features of the steel company. The company's old hospital building in this city will be remodeled and new buildings will be added for the purpose of starting an industrial school and cooperative factory. Aged employes of the company, those who have been injured in its service, as well as widows and orphans of employes, will be brought to this school and factory and be given an opportunity to earn living, and the children will be taught useful trades.

"It will not be a charitable institution in any phase. Several instructors have been engaged, among them being Walter Morritt, of Boston, and Miss Mary Blatzberg, an expert weaver of Boston, who will take charge of the woman's department."



BROTHER JONATHAN .- I know so many good-hearted men and women among the Socialists that, for their own sakes, I hope they will never live to see the victory of the party. That day must be a very sad day for them. They would find out how they miscalculated things; it would break their hearts.

UNCLE SAM-For instance?

B. J .- They overlook so many things. For instance, they overlook the scabs. Now, one little question punctures your, Co-operative Commonwealth, so-called .-What will you do with the scab, seeing there are so many of them? U. S .- What-WE would DO-with

B. J .- Yes; what would you do with

him? U. S .- Do you know what a scab is?

B. J .- 'Course I do. ,

U. S .- Define the thing.

B. J .- A scab? Well, he is a man-Yes, a scab is ... Why, everybody knows what a scab is. What's the use of defining him?

U. S .- Your difficulty in defining him shows the use of a definition. I'll help you out. A seab is a man who either has no work or very poor work, and is willing to take the place that another strikes against because that job, bad as it may be, is better than what he now, B. J.-I'll accept that definition. It

suits the exactly. What are you going to do with him in your Co-operative Commonwealth, so-called? U. S .- If you accept the definition you

must accept all that flows from it. B. J .- So I do. U. S .- Then you must accept the con-

clusion that there is to-day virtually a condition of famine for many in the country. B. J.-I'll grant that. There is not nough for all; if you fill some starving

mouths you must take away from others, U. S .- Expose THESE to starvation? B. J.-Just so; you would be robbing Peter to pay Paul, so to speak.

U. S .- You are going much too fast: but I'm glad I gave you rope, because you have now made clear to me what it really," is that troubles you. When you say scab" you don't mean that; what you have in mind is a different question. You think there is not wealth enough for

B. J .- Just so. U. S .- Do you think so from the presence of the seab, who, being ready,

to take a poor job, shows he is starving? B. J .- Now you got it. U. S .- And you conclude that, being so

B. J.-Correct. U. S. Did you ever read about that 2,000,000 outfit that old Leiter, of

Chicago, bestowed on his daughter, the Vice-Reine of India, Lady Curzon? B. J .- No! Did he?

U. S .- Yes; besides, her dower was

bout \$5,000,660. B J -- Vou don't say!

U. S .- And you evidently don't know

omebody MUST starve.

that we of America are supporting about 200 other precious heiresses in royal tyle abroad? B. J .- That's news to me.

U. S .- Is it also news to you that our

Astors in America give \$200,000 balls? That our Pierreponts spend in luxuries everal millions a year, and so forth? B. J. (greatly surprised)-You make

my head swim! U. S .- Now, do you imagine that all

these precions loafers would starve if 90 per cent, of this wealth that Labor, and not they, produced were turned to the mouths now starving? B. J. (recovering from his surprise)-

No; they would not starve. But that don't alter the case. What would you do with these starvelings in your Cooperative Commonwealth, so-called? U. S.-Well, to tell you what we would

do with the scab in our "Co-operative Commonwealth, so-called," I shall first tell you something else that will also be brand new to you. What we Socialists are really after is not so much the wealth these capitalists consume, but the machinery of production that they have robbed society of. That machinery, of production (we call it "capital") is eapable of producing an abundance for all. It does not do that to-day because the robber class of capitalists don't find their account in allowing it to do so. Stripped from this private ownership that prevents machinery from being as probetive as it can, and no longer needing

the hordes of unproductive hirelings that capitalism breeds, no one need starve. He who will work will have the enjoyment of the abundance he produces. Where will the "scab" be then? In our Co-operative Commonwealth, so-called," there will be left only the word "scab" as a reminder of the dirty social system that we shall have overthrown

CORRESPONDENCE

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in wrint under an assumed nesse will at-tack such name to their communications beside their, own signature and address None other will be recognized.]

and Installment of "The Rush to

To The Daily and Weekly People: me time ago the first installment of this story appeared, under the caption, "The Rush to Rochester," Now comes the second. It looks as though the multinamed party was in for it in Massachusetts, as well as in New oYrk and 'elsewhere.

What else can happen in a movement made up of freak, and frauds, each of insists that he, she or it is the axis around which revolves the Social Revolution. 'Let the good work go on. In the language of a son of "Ould" Frin. "Let the devil kill his own meat and he can find no fault with the butcher."

With this war on and with the record which made by the Kangs this winter in both Lynn and Haverhill, furnishing scabs for Tobin, to say nothing of their other "class conscious" acts, such as voting for armory appropriations, accept-ing the endorsement of capitalist poli-ticians and capitalist polins and capitalist parties, with all made plain to the workers by the comrades of the S. J. P., there is certainly breakers ahead for the Kangaroo outfit of scab furnishers, or money builders, coy duck politicians, atheists, etc.

When the "soap box" season opens which should be at once-all along the line it should be, and must be work of each and every member of S. L. P. to show in the rank and file of the working class what this crowd of all round freaks, frauds and no goods Fraternally, Michael T. Berry.

[Enclosure.]

"MRS, AVERY WILL FIGHT.

Party.

"Again Says Atheists Control Socialist

"Martha Moore Avery and the Social ists are to engage in an extraordinary battle. Mrs. Avery, one of the foremost champions of Socialism, has given offence to the party workers by writing an article in which she asserted that the dominant control of the Socialist press is atheistical.'

This has stirred up a big commotion and Mrs. Avery, Tuesday evening, was suspended for two years from the Bos-ton Socialist Club.

"This sentence created a sensation. It may lead to a big break in the ranks of the party. She is a determined fight-er and will not rest quiet under the rep-

"The article she wrote in part is as

It is true that the dominant control the Socialist press is atheistical, while a large minority may be said to sophy whatever, its intellectual concepts being a mixture and a muddle between the false and the true. At one time it is held that necessity ne fashions the design, that the Great Creator is once for all displaced by "economic determinism," while in the same breath it holds that inherent within the mass is writ the pattern of purity, which one is free to follow to per-fected human life, which shall last forever. Turning to the next column, one may see the specious arguments of "the intellectuals," who declare that "the Soeialist movement has no use for mor-als." The Rev. F. O. MacCartney, who is a

ber of the legislature, says that Mrs. Avery has an appeal from the act of suspension. To a Post reporter yes-terday he said: The decision of the Boston Club is not final. Mrs. Avery can appeal to the Socialist party, and cialist Labor Party believes in amashing also to all the clubs. The majority will up the trades unions, in fact, there are been a very enthusiastic worker, but I am of the opinion that the suspension will be ratified."

The charge that atheism predominates in the ranks of the Socialists has prevailed for some time. Less than a week ago, Representative Carey, on the floor of the lower branch of the legisre, was charged with being an ist. This he publicly denied a mont after the charge was made, he also g that atheism was not a creed of alists and in no way was coned with the party.

"If I should make the slightest effor ey couldn't suspend me, but I shall to such steps as will, I hope, bring the ialist party up to a standard that shall be as liberal as is the Constitution of our United State, which while it ets all religions advocates none.

"This statement was made last night to a Post reporter by Mrs. Avery: "My protests, she said, 'are against atheism, politically organized masquer-ading under a wage-workers' party, and on for my writing this article. ot which so much trouble has been was, as I have often openly tated, to gain members who would ke ty upon its economic political The lack of coherence is seen fact that there are four distinct parties now. There is also a fight on between the East and West, and in the last analysis it is ne fight brought on here in Massa-is. A little coterie of New York and have discredited Eugene s, and are now in the process of g Job Harriman, vice-presidential tte in the last campaign, for an

active participation with the trades

union party of San Francisco.
"The fight has been perfectly open with me for two or three years, and I am now deliberating whether I shall work within the organization or outside of it, to promote the cause of the wageworkers of the country.

"The party is on a downward path and if the present faction is not exter minated it will develop into an official organization of the atheists of this country.

dum vote or take it before the State committee of the national body, but whether I will do this I am not prepared to state. But the party is so completely under the control of atheists that I d not think it is possible to drag it out of the present position; but I will use my best efforts to establish the trade union movement."

Liar Lemon Laid Out.

To The Daily and Weekly People. On Sunday evening, the 19th inst., the Social Democratic party of this city held a meeting in the Building Trades Hall, which was addressed by one Courtnev Lemon, of New York.

Speaking of the militia, he said: "The militia of the United States, unlike the military armies, of Europe-which are used against foreign foes; used also in the search for new territory for commercial advantage,-is used against working class discontent at home, to break

kangaroo chairman, George Schadeen, announced that the speaker would answer any question pertaining to the subject treated, if any of the audience wished to be enlightened on any point. Immediately Comrade Peter Jacobson arose from his seat and asked: "Since it is a fact that the militia is used mainly to subdue striking workingmen and women, why is it that one of your members, James Carey, of Haverhill, Mass., while holding the office of alderman in that city, voted for a \$15,000 appropriation to repair the armory of that city; and this action approved by your 'Socialist' party, by not only not kicking him out of the organization, but

Listen to the reply. Note also that in replying the speaker brought to mind another traitor and his treason, and applauded the treachery of both. Here it

"The comrade who voted for the appropriation of \$15,000 to repair the arory of Haverhill did so because it was in a very unsanitary condition, and a menace to public health. I do not know whether at the time he was a member of the Socialist Labor Party or the 'Socialist' party, and furthermore in Massachusetts the militia is not used to break strikes, there is a special State police for that purpose. Another com-rade is being accused by the S. L. P. members of improper conduct, and that is Comrade George Hoen, of St. Louis He is charged with having enlisted as a deputy sheriff during the St. Louis street car strike. Now, his intention was not to help break the strike, but rather to persuade the rest of the dep uty sheriffs to refuse to club the strikers. Hence the "Socialist" party did not

the chance to retaliate, some outside fellow asked, "What is the difference between the S. L. P. and the S. D. P.? The speaker in reply said: "The 'Socialist' party of the United States,in this State it is called the Social Democratic party-at the last fall elections polled bout 230,000 votes in the coun try, while the Socialist Labor Party polled only about 50,000 votes, most of which were intended for the 'Socialist' alias Social Democratic party. The Socialist Labor Party believes in amashing ide. Mrs. Avery is very able and has two men in this country who are anxious to smash the trades unions. They are J. Pierpont Morgan and Daniel De Leon. The Socialist Labor Party members scab it on striking workingmen while the Social Democratic party up holds the trades unions. It believes the trades union a natural outgrowth of conditions and as an absolute necessity. Thus you see it is principally a differ ence of opinion on the trades union

> Quick as a flash our stalwart Comrade Speaker, you have stated a falsehood L. P. scab it during strikes. Here is a strike on now in the building trades Do not the men of the Socialist Labo Party stick by them as they have altheir heads in assent, and saying 'that's

"ask a question," he continued, assisted

meeting adjourned, and the speaker's awful embarassment at the sharp counter fire of the S. L. P. seemed to be relieved. Thus ended an evening's pas time for several members of the S. L. P. Jacob Fischman.

Yonkers, N. Y., April 21

The Brotherhood of Capital and Church To The Daily and Weekly People. On the Canadian side of Niagara Falls visitors to the trolley station of the Gorge road are confronted with a large picture taken at the "Cave of the Wind" alt of fifteen years ago, of J. Pierpont Morgan, Bishop H. C. Potter, one other gentleman and four women friends of the "good" Bishop from the city of New

Coupled with the visit here Thursday last-Morgan's birthday-of Bishop Doane, of Albany, who will dare say that capital and church are not broth-

Brooklyn, April 20, 1903.

Sam Gompers and Sim Tappertit.

To The Daily and Weekly People. In the Providence Evening Bulletin of Thursday, April 16, in parallel columns, occur the following:

"New York, April 16 .- Secretary George Kolb of the Marine Engineers Benevolent Association, members of which have made a demand for a twentyfive per cent increase in wages, said to-

'Our constitution forbids a strike. If our demand is refused we cannot go out in a body, but each individual will act for himself. It is contrary to our constitution to tie up any thing, whether a single boat or a line. For thirty years we have been working at the same old rates of pay.'

I quote in full-no mutilation or omission of any part. In the second item to which I wish to draw attention, under caption "Organized Labor is Here to Stay" Sammy Gompers delivers himself of a statement which takes up about a quarter of a column. I shall not inflict all of it on The People's readers, but I think the following excerpts when read in connection with Kolb's effusion, prove of interest:

"Organized Labor is here to stay. It has survived many encounters with men of the Parry calibre. Organized labor (crescendo) seeks no such conflicts as Mr. Parry would promote nor will it run away from it. . . Organized labor faces the future confidently and self-reliant. . . Organized labor is constantly striving for the attainment of a better and higher life."

In view of the facts stated in the first item comment among Socialists on the Greasy One's attitude is needless. Dickens' creation, Sim Tappertit, the gloomily grand leader of the United Bull Dogs of London alone comes within hailing distance of the heroic Sammy. The old jingle-

See the live lion stuffed with straw Eating boiled potatoes raw"

occurs to me in connection with the unctious Sammy. Now, if the Malevolent, I mean Benevolent, unions, are so potent for good as its leaders claim, why have Marine Engineers remained stationary? (N. B.-This is not a "Goak" as the late Artemus Ward would say.)

No, dear reader, these Babes in the Wood Unions with Greasy Sammy, Schaffer, etc., as escorts, will end as did the children of the gentleman of good account who in Norfolk dwelt of late. The robin red-breast that piously covers them with leaves is here ready to perform that office in the shape of the Socialist Labor Party.

Frank Linden. Manton, R. I., April 20.

The Rev. Carl Thompson Overreaches Himself-Workman Exposes Him.

To The Daily and Weekly People. Last Tuesday, April 14, the good citizens of Winona had the pleasure of hearing Rev. Carl Thompson, the Socialist Kangaroo. He was well advertised by the local Kangs, who saved no energy or expense to draw a fairly filled house. About 150 people were in the audience including quite a few ladies and also four or five comrades who desired to hear the Rev. and ask him a few questions, leaving their home in order to induce him to ask for questions; but in vain. After talking a great deal about justice, equality and brotherly love, and the gefting of all this through the Socialist party. Thompson told a lot of little funny stories, always watching the effect upon the audience, and smiling when he scored applause. It reminded us of a young stage performer, who would feel tickled by making a hit. Yet his smiles indicated more. They said plainly, "I am learning fast your frame of mind. You are an easy prey," not dreaming that there were some present who re-

corded his sayings. He stated that he was a working man without a home, and in the next breath he said he had the good fortune of attending the Rockefeller University in Chicago and finally graduating from a Congregational Seminary in Chicago.

Said he. "I am a Congregational minister. I feel elated that not less than twelve from a class of thirty-six that graduated in '98 are Socialists and organizers of the Socialist party, and will make this earth the Kingdom of Christ and bring justice to the down-

After telling his audience that the Socialists desired to stop this dividing up-he ordered a collection, asking the audience to divide up.

The Rev. Gentleman then spoke about his literature that he had for sale, and as he did not seem to proceed to ask for questions one of the comrades asked him if he would answer questions? "Yes, sald he." "Well," says the com rade, "you spoke so much about fustice, equality and brotherly love, how do you expect to administer this justice; say for instance that you elect

the President through your party next election?" He answered, "Ah, but we will elect also our judges who will administer this justice." He was ther asked if it was not a fact that the Government of a people was a reflex of the intelligence and honesty of that people and that it required a different ducation than the Socialist party was offering the proletariat to bring thout the Socialist Republic?"

Instead of answering he asked the omrade if he was an S. L. P. member The comrade answered: "Yes, and I am proud of it!" The Rev. Carl went on then telling the audience that he had forgotten to state that there were two Socialist parties in the field, the S. L. P., which was following suicidal tactics, and the S. P., which separated from the S. L. P. for that reason,

Then M. J. Ryan, who is not a mem ber of the S. L. P., got the floor and asked the Reverend if the Socialist party was the laboring class party. On answering in the affirmative he asked Ryan if he was an S. L. P. member. "That is immaterial," answered Ryan, "I want to give you a bit of your Socialist party's tactics. Listen: In 1900, a member of your party Hoehn, by name, during a strike of one faction of the laboring class in St Louis, joined the deputy sheriffs to shoot down the striking laboring men! How is that for tactics?"

Mr. Ryan, who is tall and rather pale, turned to the audience and pointing to the preacher said very slowly and earnestly: "What do you think of that kind of tactics? Did his party expell Hoehn? No. never!" He then sat down and let it soak in.

The Rev. Carl then said the S. L. P. is vanishing rapidly in this State. A bill was 'passed in the Legislature which prevents them from getting on the ballot, that would end the annoy ances of the S. L. P. in Minnesota; that last fall they spent \$500 to beat the Socialists, but now they were fixed forever.

Ryan again got after him, stating that he had understood Thompson to say the Socialist (?) stood for justice and equality, Now, Thompson had stated that they, the Socialists, had forced the bill disfranchising a number of citizens of the State of Minnesota. He did not understand this. "Well," answered the Reverend, "You can vote for Socialism!" "No, not that kind of Socialism for me," retorted Ryan.

A number of other comrades got after the Reverend, and he dismissed the audience, whom we then supplied with leaflets. This was good practice for the members present. They had the Kangaroo jumping from pillar to post. Fraternally, Max A. Goltz.

N. B .- Section Winona does not elieve the preacher's statement about that bill passing; but will investigate. Last fall they sent that same lying statement out, yet we beat them. If not true, it certainly gives the "morality" preacher - preaching lies black eye.

The Carpenters' Parade.

To The Daily and Weekly People.-I happened to be on Fifth avenuyesterday when the carpenter's parado passed. I have seen many parade but never one that was so spiritless The men marched as if it was either that or pay a fine, and just at present they can't afford to pay fines.

One man that I saw carrying a sign reading something about American Labor for American Industries, by the cut of his jib he hasn't been in the country long enough to vote. lodge was headed by a man bearing a large American flag: in fact the paraders seemed to pin their faith to the flag, for each man carried one The bands played such labor tunes as "Marching Through Georgia," "The Star Spangled Banner," "Yankee

Doodle," etc. The sentiment that clings to a may be all right under certain conditions, but I could not help reflect that It was under the aegis of this same flag that other striking working men had been shot down in cold blood and probably to the very same tunes I now heard. The flag needs a cleansing of the capitalist vermin in its folds before it can become a banner of hope to the worker.

But hold! There was one tubilant note in the parade. As one band approached it broke out in the divine and heart-stirring strains of the Marseillaise. It did not electrify the doleful paraders, but to me it presaged the time that is to be, when workingmen will march to some purpose.

In the organization following the band was an excitable gent frantically waving his American flag in vain endeavor to awaken enthusiasm among the paraders and the onlookers. He had a radish button on his coat his as a saucer. It was inverted, which is symbolical of Kangarooism. That the band played the Marseillaise will no doubt be heralded as a great Kangaroo victory, even though behind the band followed a sign declaring that America should be for Americans, But then the Kangs, as well as the paraders may not have known that it was a "foreign" tune. N. O. L.

New York, April 21.

State Referendum Overthrow in Colorado With the Aid of "Socialist" Knavery.

To The Daily and Weekly People. Another chapter has been added to the the history of labor legislation in Colorado, and, I trust, a recital of the facts that have come to the surface, so far, much.'

will be interesting and instructive.

Last fall an eight-hour amendment was voted on by the people of the State and it carried by a huge majority. The amendment was necessitated by reason of the fact that, when an eight-hour bill was passed some years ago, it was killed by a "non-partisan" Supreme Court, on the ground of unconstitutionality.

It was popularly supposed that the passage of the amendment made the way clear and easy for an eight-hour law and the wageworkers of the State looked forward confidently to the passage of the measure that had so long and so eagerly been desired.

But the legislature has adjourned; the State is in the hands of an element bitterly hostile to labor, organized or otherwise; and, what is most noteworthy of all, no eight-hour bill has been passed; and the question: who is responsible? is being asked everywhere.

The Democrats say, "The Republicans and their "Socialist" allies are responsible," and the latter answer by saying. "You did it." A great fight will be the result, and, as things develop, we will give the comrades throughout the country the benefit of what comes to light when thieves fall out."

Just now the interest centers in a row between Senator F. A. Moore, Democrat, and President Sullivan, of the State Federation of Labor, and Guy Miller, "Socialists" and "Labor agents in the legislature." Just why these gentlemen were selected as lobbyists will remain a mystery, as, after all their "playing one party against another"; after all cajoling, threatening, whining and posturing before Democrats and Republicans; after all their begging and praying of capitalist politicians to "do something," they are reduced to shouting "Traitor, drunkard," etc., against those who have buncoed them.

They "believed in fighting the devil with fire," and, as a consequence, the old boy has his brand on them, and they are-explaining how it happened.

What a sight for gods and men is it to see men who claim to be Socialists, who profess to base their political activity upon an irrepressible class-struggle, begging a crumb from the men whose interests are those of the exploiter, and then, when their silly-aye, criminaltalk of "non-partisanship" is thrown into their teeth, jabbering of being "betraved."

It is bad, I know, to throw principles to the winds, and only to fail; and the "lobbyists" and their apoligists will know it before we get through with them.

The S. L. P. has principles and stands by them, without fear or favor toward anyone, and we realize that the only argument that impresses the enemy is the onslaught of a party that knows what it wants, how to get it, and is determined to have it; not as favor begged of capitalist politicians, but as a right.

Florence, Col., April 19.

PARRY ON HANNA.

Manufacturers' President Makes Caustic Comment on Mark's Metamorphosis. Indianapolis, April 23 .- Mr. Hanna's

rushing to the rescue of organized labor is, when you come to think of it, a somewhat astonishing spectacle," said D. M. Parry, president of the National Convention of Manufacturers, to-day when asked for his opinion as to the attack made upon his labor position by Senator Hanna at the banquet of the Amalgamated Steel Workers, at Columbus, a

"The genesis of Mr. Hanna from an energetic business man, with a labor record not particularly distinguished for leniency, into a political leader, and finally a United States Senator, who is the leading spirit if not the founder of the Civic Federation, is a remarkable instance of what the political bee will make a man do when it gets to buzzing in his bonnet. Who knows where the metamorphosis of Mr. Hanna will end?

"As a good union man, Senator Hanna may yet think it incumbent upon him to look with an indulgent eye upon Bryanism, and I am almost inclined to believe it an opportune time to make the suggestion that he be made the next running mate for Mr. Bryan. Bryan and Hanna! How is that for a ticket?

"Mr. Hanna went out of his road in apologizing for the National Association of Manufacturers in its bad judgment in electing me unanimously as president for a second term. He stated that I managed to slip in because it was the custom of the assiciation to honor each president with two terms. This is a gross misstatement of facts, for the former president filled the office six years. The manufacturers of this country are supposed to have full possession of their faculties, and if they had needed the advice of Mr. Hanna as to the election of a president they probably would have called upon him. As they did not. it would seem that they felt that they could struggle along without his as-"Mr. Hanna corralled the manufactur-

ers of the country in the first McKinley campaign because of the fear of Bryanism. He led them into the McKinley camp because of this fear, but if he thinks he can ring-nose the manufacturers of the country on the labor issue and lead them into the camp of Gompers and his aggregation, I think he overestimates his strength and influence very

LETTER-BOX

spondents.

No questions will be considered that come in anonymous letters. All letters must carry a bona fide signature and address.

A. M., NEW LONDON, CT.—The fakirs iooked at you as if they would cut you, when you distributed those militia Uncle Sams? Keep It up.

L. B., TORONTO, CANADA.—Of course, there is no "merger of interests between the Labor News Co. and the Twentieth Century Press." The adv. of Dove's book is furnished by the advertisers. It, no doubt, is superlative, as advs. frequencily are. The only question is, is the book harmful? We think not. It is not as useful as direct S. L. P. literature. But all literature throws light on the literature of thought We think not. It is not as useful as dr. S. L. P. literature. But all literature it throws light on the literature of thought useful. The reading of Dove's work it has some interest to the S. E. P. man the reading about crude dug-out can building lass for the ethnologist to-dall the same, your "kiek" is appreciant shows that watchfulness, born of the pride Party men take in the immacula of every inch of their Party press, a without which danger is always immine, without which danger is always immine. without which danger is always for "kick" will be referred to the for information,—and warning. On the whole it may be best to leave out such advs... at least when worded in that way Like Caesar's wife, the bona fide Socialis press must be above reproach.

S. R., SCHENECTADY, N. Y.—There is no inherent strength in the arguments (1.2.2) made by the Social Democratic, alias "Socialist" arty, or by any of the reform or anti-S. L. P., movements, that periodically spring up. The strength lies, not in the arguments themselves, but in a certain feature of human nature. Man maturally likes an easy road. A road that is easy to travel will, every time, and justly so, have his preference over the hard and thorny one. Now, then, the road, marked out by the S. L. P., is not strewn with roses. The masses, that are moving towards Socialism, see that. While they are considering the necessity of entering upon that road, there turns up before them, say, one of these Bogus "Socialist" party men, and presents to them the plan of a fine, wide road,—smooth to travel on, with relays of swift horses to facilitate transit, and commodious benches, fragrantly arthered to easy mader. and commodious benches, fragrantly a bored to rest under. What is the first result? The uninformed masses are captivated. What is the next result? Whe that fine-looking read is a sange,—the the S. L. P. man worns these masses the the ground is thin and they will for through; that the relays of horses are wis mustangs, that will kick then up in the irith that the commedious and fragrant arbored benches are to set them askeep frobbers to rifle; etc., etc.;—when the warnings are uttered, they annoy the proaching masses; man naturally is forward at muything that runs counter fragranth warnings are uttered, the naturally proaching masses: man naturally proaching that runs cournoyed at anything that runs cournoyed at anything that runs cournoyed at anything that runs courself imaginings. As a fig. pleasurable imaginings. As a final con-sequence, their annoyance at the S. L. P. warnings has the effect of bastening their steps towards and on to the false road.— consequently, to besten their making ex-perience. Thus good comes of evil.

J. M., CLEVELAND, O .- Of course, Han J. M., CLEVELAND, O.—Of course, Han-na did not make, and would not make, such a speech "for publication". Of course, no one read it, or anything like it, in any of the capitalist papers! But the speech was made at that private banquet, and one of the moguls, there present from New York, brought the news to Wall street, and York, brought the news to Wall street, and there it is that it reached the ears of our informant, who heard the cusses uttered at Hanna for such views. Our informant is the same source from which many other valuable articles and bits of information from Wall street circles have been published in these columns. One appears today, it is a hummer. He has always been found truthful and accurate. Subsequent events and news have regularly substantiated the matters furnished us by him.

A. J. S., CHICAGO, H.L.-Only two A. J. S., CHICAGO, II.I.—Only two kinds of men—the visionaries, who imagine the Socialist Movement is a dress-parade; and the crooks and grafters, who only see in the Movement a chance to turn a dishonest penny:—only these two kinds are oblivious of the fact that

None that dwelleth upon earth
Liveth free from grief and fear.

Grief is past, and grief hath birth.

One is now, and one is near.

Trouble is in the nature of the Movement. And the greatest pangs, the pangs of travail are yet to come.

of travail are yet to com

F. E. CLEVELAND, O.—Shall have ry and get that book. The information

L. F.. NEW YORK.—Don't wonder at that elipping from the New York Tribune in which Comrade De Leon is referred to as a Social Democrat and very fond of Levery. Nor should you get angry at it thinking it an act of intentional malice. It is not that. A capitalist paper will pick out an expert to report and write on a billiard tournament, a regatta, a rat-pit fight, etc., knowing that none can write intelligently on any subject that he is not master of. But when it comes to writing on the Labor Movement, these same capitalist papers pick out the biggest jackass they can lay hands on, and none too big.

S. T. A. BOSTON, MASS.—Don't you make of hope their only food? And don't you further know that he who lives in hope dies in despair? Combine the sayings, and you have the state of mind and the horoscope of the gentlemen who are "hoping for the downfall of the S. L. P."

ENQUIRER, SAN JOSE, CAL.—1st—The most that the S. T. & L. A. can do at present is, first, to keep workingmen from the show-windows and show-cases—wideh is all that most of the pure and simple unions are—for the labor fakirs to traffic on with the politicians: and, secondly, to seek, more directly than a political party can, to instil Socialist thought into the shops:—and this is a good deal. To affect, however, wages, for that the movement is still too weak. ENQUIRER, SAN JOSE, CAL .- 1st -- The

ever, wages, for that the movement is still too weak.

2d.—A shop if bona fidely, even though ignorantly organized, is "unionized." The S. L. P. stands by all the workingmen demands and moves of the working class. These, however, are general principles. You do not state facts enough to form an opinion. You will have to be guided by ALI, the circumstances that surround you.

M. G. P., BOSTON, MASS.—By the "law of political parties," is usually meant the set of motives that political parties spring from, and whose logical sequences direct the course and destinies of parties. For instance: The Popullst party spring from middle class motives. The middle class believes in the exploitation of labor; but exploitation of inbor implies Trusts and monopolies at the other end. In other words, the middle class believes in exploiting those poorer, but resents being exploited by those richer than itself. The logical sequence of such motives were Peffer's denunciation of the Homestead strike, etc., etc., and that political corruption that caused Fopulism to go down; that was the law of that party.

You may communicate effectly with Com-M. G. P., BOSTON, MASS .- By the "law

You may communicate directly with Com-rade McCornic, whose address is given in the article.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN—NEW YORK, CHICAO AND CLEVELAND.—Your several interrogateries are here combined and co-ordinated

1st. The present rumpus in the camp of the New York Social Democratic party orignated in an awakening sense, among the English element which it attracted, of the preposterousness, not to say humiliation, of a party that claims to be Socialist, having its press owned and dominated by a private corporation. The gallingness of the thing was felt all the worse in the circumstance that that corporation was owned by

a set of repulsively and offensively impudent and ignorant Germans and Jews: Finally the yoke became unbearable when that corporation iniciated and issued a call for a general vote to overthrow the action of the National Board in choosing Omaha for pendquarters.

bendquarters.

2d. The "Socialist Review" was started by the revolting element. The Volkszeitung corporation then began to intrigue against it and those back of it, so as to encompass the defeat of Omaha and keep the party under that corporation's thumb. The encounters between the two have led to law sults and criminal procedures in the courts. suits and criminal procedures in the courts

helr general committee meeting, held on her lith instant. 4th. Now, as to what happened there. It ent a chill down the back of the corpora-

When the speaker had finished, the

not even censuring the traitor?"

follows:

expell these two noble comrades. We are proud of them." Before our Comrade Sweeney could get

Owen Carraber arose and declared: "Mr. when you said that members of the S. ways done? Here are present men of the building trades who know every one of us. They'll tell you who and what the men of the S. L. P. are, You can't come up here and stuff their heads with know that we are unflinching fighters when it comes to a fight between the bosa and workingmen. (Here several men on strike who were present nodded

"No speech," shouted the chairman; by a few more kangaroos. "We want no speech."
Suddenly the chairman declared the

right.')"

Off-Hand Answers to Corre-

and criminal procedures in the courts.

Id. Of course, the encounters had also the party's organizations for a theater. The corporation's hired employees—advertising agents, editors, ciepts, etc.—started in the Assembly Districts charges against the Assembly Districts are to a lead at their general committee meeting, held on

4th. Now, as to what happened there. It sent a chill down the back of the corporation. The corporation found that its intrigues had materially failed. It gained a rictory. But it was a Pyrrhic victory. The English speaking officers connected with the new paper were all deposed, but the vote showed the presence of a strong minority. It no instance was the deposing minority double that of the opposing minority in some instances it was only 1 or 2 votes larger than the minority.

5th. Woat transpired there made the cor-5th, Wost transpired there made the cor-

5th. What transpired there made the corporation draw in its horns. Searing, one of the deposed officers, threatened to put the crowd outside of the party, etc. The result was that the corporation passed the word along the line, and its incubatees are new voting for Omaha! Of course, they are watching for a better opportunity. The corporation virtually has the party where the hair is short; it holds the party's press. But just now it is weak as a soft-shell crab! It has to keep up the appearance abrond that it is 'trunning the Socialist Movement.' America," and, of course, it is in con-America," and, of course, it is in con-nt drend of the S. L. P. Hence it has come Omabaist, lest something nip. 6th. The "Volkszeitung" and its English poodle, the "Worker," try to keep up a diff upper lip, and affect to whistle com-fortably. But they feel sick in their stom-

are not yet ripe. S. H. D., PUEBLO, COLO.—That is just S. H. D., PUEBLO, COLO.—That is just one of the strongest tests that S. L. P. characterfulness is put to. The foc has but one weapon.—t'ALUMNY. The week man of Movement enters into a wrestling match therewith; net results, the two sides evenially become an indistinguishable mass of dirt. The strong man or movement, on the contrary, never takes hold of the caluming event when it shows its head clearly eventuch to be graphed by the threat and contrary, never takes hold of the calumny except when it shows its head clearly enough to be grabbed by the throat and staved in, and the thing is then over; or they ignore the calumny altogether, and go serencly on their way, like the planets in their orbits. You will find that to have leen S. L. P. tactics. The Party will never go down into the gutter in pursuit of calimnious mud-sl.ngers; it leaves the gutter all to themselves to wallow in all to themselves to wallow in.

a hs.
7th. There is more to say, but conditions

C. H. G., WH.SON, MINN.—1st. In de-bates of that nature, the only wise course to to have your adversary himself define the terms. Otherwise you will be talking at cross purposes. Such terms may be de-fined in scores of ways, according to the ground one stands on. one stands of 2d. We know of no statistical tables or

ruch subjects.

A. YONKERS, N. Y.—1st. Courtney Lemon is an employe of the Volkszeltung Corporation. 2d. The Social Democrat, G. A. Hoebin, stated in his German paper, at the time of the St. Louis car strike, that he was dragooned into service as a deputy marshal, and was forced against his will to that daily. Being laughed at for such an excuse, he then changed his time, and said, in that same paper, that he joined the deputy marshals out of his freewill, for the purpose of preaching Socialism to them. The Milwaukee "Wahrhelt," which knows the man for what he is, thereupon printed in parallel columns the two different reasons given by Hoebin, and asked hom.—"When did you lie? 3d. As to Carcy, the Haverhill Armory building Social Democrat, alias so-called Socialist party man, his supporters have ever tried to shift over to the shoulders of the Socialist Labor Party the deed of that "noble" comrade. If it was a noble act, why so anxious to charge the S. L. P. with it? But, Mr. Lemon, you must remember is an employee of the Volkszeltung corporation.

corperation.

II. W., SAGINAW, MICH.—The constitutional provision bars actual officers of pare and simple unions from membership in the Union. Accordingly, and obedient to the strict letter of the constitution, a man who was, but is no longer such an afficer, is not barred. Your opinion that a difference should exist in cases where a man was a member of the Party, and then resigned his membership because he took such an office (a strike committee post), and then the strike being over, and his office lapsed, that such a man should not be readmitted in the Party, his previous conduct being a Prepudlation of the Party,—such an opinion and such an instance illustrate the fact that there is a moral element involved; and, consequently, that element involved; and, consequently, that each case must be considered on its own

The S. L. P. holds that the Trades Union is essential, and an integral part of the Socialist Movement. It follows that the S. L. P. is bound to recognize all that flows from such premises. Among the things that flow therefrom are strikes. the S. L. P. is bound to recognize all that flows from such premises. Among the things that flow therefrom are strikes, etc. Experience teaches that union offices in pure and simpledom are generally used by the labor lieutenants of capital to corrupt otherwise good men. Due to this experience, the Party has decided that no such officers shall be members. At this point the moral element steps in. Did a man take an office as a corruptionee, or did ho take it otherwise? The line is hard to draw, hard to detect. If he took it ass a corruptione he certainly "repudiated" Farty principles; if he did not, he was not guilty of moral turptude, and no longer being such an officer may be admitted. Each individual case must stand on its own bottom. on bottom.

If you look closely at the question, what-

er difference of conclusion traceable to this fundamental of opinion. Some people hold (judging from fractional facts) that ALL Unionism is a snare and a delusion; others hold an opposite view.

Next question next week.

L. B., (NEW YORK--We can't see it even in that light. The "Volkszeitung" has done no end of harm to a certain ele-ment among the Germans.

1st. Schlueter (not Jorgs: Jongs never was anything but a bourgeous radicall knew how the party in Germany was being emisculated. He always spoke about it, and yet now, out of pure nativistic perverseness, he is doing what he can to lower the American movement to the German level. This necessarily renders its parish-ioners until

2d. The paper tends to inflate its par-isblioners with nativastic concelt. This is a boomerang from which they will suffer, and are new severely suffering. TO THE OTHERS WHOM IT MAY CONCERN-Your mail will have to walt

till next week. S. L. P. Meetings in Chicago. May 2, 111th and Michigan, 7.30 p. m. Ninety-second and Commercial avenue,

May 3, Madison and Green, 8 p. m Warren avenue and Ogden avenue, 3 p. m. May S. Halsted and Maxwell, S p. m.

May 9, Sixty-third and Halsted, 8

p. m. May 10, State and Congress, 3 p. m.

Clark and Walton, 8 p. m

7.30 p. m.

OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New cade street, New York. SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CAN-

ADA-Rational Seretary, C. A. Westzel, 3.4 Thames street. YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY 2-6 New Reade street. (The Party's

literary agency., Notice—For technical reasons no Party announcements can go in that there are not in this office b. Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

National Executive Committee.

Regular meeting held April 24, at 2street. A. Klein in the chair. The Recording Secretary being his stead. The financial report for the two weeks ending April 18 showed receipts, \$53.55; expe ditures, \$40.70.

unications: From Section Law Mass., relative to payment on its ge for Daily People Anxiliary gue. From Section Denver, Col., re-ling expulsion of E. O. Cochrane for of Art. 2. Sec. 6, of the con-From San Francisco, Cal., sation. From San Francisco, Cal., ative to application for membership large. Under the rules, this was rered to California State Executive mmittee. From Section Allegheny unty, Pa., reporting local work. Secn Tacoma, Wash., reported suspenser of J. M. Lee, for six months for coming a member. From ral points were received copies of an ignous pircular, sent out from 10 azine street, Newark, N. J., and ned "Roman R. Holler," wherein all are not "lost souls." At the number en is located a drug store kept by an member of Section Essex County, N. I, recently expelled by that section, shose name is not "Holler."

It was resolved to extend the func-

tions of The Daily People Finance Com-mittee recently elected by Section New York and to authorize them to work a plan to so finance The Daily People plant indebtedness as to take it of the hands of the present claimants and place it, more widely distributed, among adherents of the movement. Section Los Angeles, Cal., reported ex-

tion Los Angeles, Cal., reported exa and contempt. Section Madison unty, Ill., reported expulsion of Kas-Swapka for violation of the prinof solidarity and contemp A. Gillhaus, Rec. Sec'y, pro tem.

The New York State Executive.

regular meeting of the New Yorks Executive Committee was held in A regular meeting of the New York State Executive Committee was held in the Daily People building, 2-6 New Reads street, on April 20, at 8 p. m. All numbers were present with the exception of Comrade George Abelson. Kihn a the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were adopted as read. The following new officers were elected: harvey A. Santee, Recording Secretary; denry Kuhn, Financial Secretary; A. C. Kuhn, Financial Secretary; A. C.

be made custodian of the mileage Moved and seconded that the Committee appropriate a sum suf-to cover the balance due on its Daily People pledge; ordered paid. nmittee appro ate \$100 as a loan to The Daily Peo as soon as that amount is accum

resigning from the State Committee d, and the Secretary was instructed call upon Section New York to make sinations to fill the vacancy.

Lockport and Auburn were retructed to reply to all and call at-tion to the importance of out-door stings, etc.

Ebert and Kihn were elcommittee to draft a circular letter a handsome prize for the fair; each tions throughout the State outmember would do his best to sell tickets for the same; that they would hold a mass meeting on Friday, April 24; want

ion made and seconded to hold gular meetings on the second and Saturdays of each month. tion made and seconded that all intended for the committee be ad-d to Harvey S. Santee, 2-6 New street, New York City.

treet, New York City.

be one of the speakers; also thought that the district should arrange a meeting and have Berry speak before he returned to his home. Action, referred to the organization committee.

through a misunderstanding the hall had been given to another party for May 3, and we could only get the hall for May 2 gu supplies...... 52.13 Action, the committee was instructed to engage the hall for one night; the committee also requested that comrades and sympathizers be requested to donate prizes, and that a notice to that effect be published in The Daily People.

The delegates of L. A's. Nos. 349

journment followed.

May Day Celebration.

ders of The People, and their are invited to be present at the monal Labor Day cambration, to I under the auspices of Section ore, Socialist Labor Party, at the im, 1011-1013 East Baltin ntertainmet and speechmakin by a ball. Katz wai be the speaker. Committee, Section Baltimore.

Canadian N. E. C. The regular meeting of the N. E. C. of Canada was held on April 17, with

tain prices from Section London

The leaflet, "Effects of Machinery or

the Working Class," was placed in the

Section Boston, Attention!

Regular meeting of Section S. L. P.

will be held on Thursday, May 7, at 8

Matters of importance will come up for

It is the duty of each comrade to at

Boston Party Press Club.

are interested in the welfare of The

Daily People are hereby called upon to

attend the next meeting of the Press

Club of Section Boston, to be held on

Sunday, May 3, 10.30 a. m., 1165 Tre-

To Whom It May Concern

Section Chicago, Socialist Labor Party

will hold a nominating meetingeCTH

will hold a nominating convention at

18 West Randolph street on Saturday,

May 2, at 7.30 p. m., to nominate a com-

plete judicial ticket for the June elec-

S. T. & L. A.-NEWS

District Alliance No. 49, S. T. & L. A.

The regular meeting of District Al-

liance No. 49 was held on Thursday

evening, April 16, with the distict presi-

Roll-call of officers showed all presen

except the district auditor. District

and laborers of South Brooklyn were

organizing and would demand eight home

on May 1; that a number of these men

were formerly members of the Soft Ground Miners' Alliance, and it would

be well for the organization committee

to look after them. Action, organization

District secretary reported that he had visited L. A's. Nos. 390, 393, 170 and 141.

No. 390: had some trouble that would require the district to take up and settle

at once, Action, matter of L. A. No. 390

referred to the district officers and the

to attend the next meeting of the local, and the organizer of the local be in-

formed to notify all members to be

see the manager in reference to a meeting room submitted its report. Action, re-

Letter from the Thirty-fifth Assembly District, S. L. P., preferring charges

against the district secretary for neglect

of duty, was taken up and both sides wer

L. A's. Nos. 42, 140, 141, 170, 252, 1563

and 2394 reported progress. No. 390 re-ported on the trouble in the local. No.

mass meeting on Friday, April 24; want

tion New York, S. L. P., reported that they would hold a mass meeting at

Cooper Union on May 2, and Comrade

M. T. Berry, of Haverhill, Mass., would

The fair committee reported tha

On motion the secretary was instructed

neerings on Boston Common, b

Sunday, May 3, at 4 p. m. Ninth tree north of the centre Charles street Mall;

same place as last year.

Comrades and sympathizers are invited to attend. For the Committee,

W. H. Carroll, Secretary.

their places.

two speakers-English and German.

The special committee appointd

port received and accepted.

heard. Action, case dismissed.

organization committee, with instruction

committee so instructed.

ent reported that the sewer workers

dent in the chair.

F. Bohmbach, Literary Agent.

Don't fail to do your duty.

W. H. Carroll,

Secretary.

o. m., at 1165 Tremont street.

State ticket, etc.

Henry Wade,

Recording Secretary.

cure a letter book.

W. D. Forkes in the chair. The circulation department, recently The account of Levi Lazerus, of inaugurated, is beginning to show results. Brantford, was o.dered paid. Section Brantford's letter was read, and the Secretary instructed to reply. A letter Last week 153 subscribers to the Weekly were received, while for the previous week the number was 124 and for the from Section Toronto requesting stamps was read. A letter from F. Lighter was week before 114. Lest week 342 new readers were secured for the Monthly, as laid over.

A communication from Section London against 109 the week before.

stating that it has a printing press and Some of the sections have written us is able to quote prices for printing was read; secretary was instructed to obsaying that we have their hearty cooperation in pushing the party press. Most of them have plans of their own The Secretary was empowered to prowhich they have put into operation. The committee on leaflets reported After a time the plan or method which shows the best results will be set forth

in this column.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT

NOTES

hands of the committee to be corrected In Brooklyn some of the comrades are making a house-to-house canvas, and the result is shown in an increased percentage of readers from that part of the city. Even if not successful in getting a subscription at every house visited, they are bringing a knowledge of the party to many who had not before heard of it. To those taking up such a canvas we would suggest that a leaflet be left at action, nomination of candidates for the houses where readers cannot be secured.

> We have some new prize offers to announce this week. A Colorado sympathizer offers the following prizes to the three persons sending in the largest number of subscribers to The Weekly People between May 3 and June 14:

First Prize-Four books by Karl Marx, three in cloth and one in paper, namely, "Value, Price and Profit," "Wage-Labor and Capital," "Paris Commune" and the "Eighteenth Brumaire," or any other Labor News publication to the amount of \$1.75.

Second Prize-"Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," by Engels, and "Paris Commune," by Marx, or other Labor News publications to the value of \$1.00.

Third Prize-"Paris Commune" "Eighteenth Brumaire," by Marx, or other Labor News publications to the value Only those subscriptions which reach

us between the above named dates will count.

The offer of a copy of Lissagaray's "History of the Commune" for ten paidup yearly subscribers sent in at one time to the Weekly still holds good. This week we make a new offer: For five paid-up subscribers sent in at one time we will give or mail, postpaid, the fol-lowing pamphlets: "What Means This Strike?" "Reform or Revolution?" "Socialism," "The Working Class," "The Capitalist Class," "The Class Struggle and "The Socialist Republic." Thes books are excellent for the beginner, and should be read in the order given above. By corculating them among your friends you can bring them to a knowledge of Socialist teachings.

The April number of the Monthly is now out and is being mailed. We again call attention to the notice which appears in the paper that, owing to the low price of the Monthly, we cannot change addresses. Complaints of nondelivery of the Monthly can be kept to a minimum if our friends will take pains to write names and addresses plainly. In sending in complaints of non-delivery be sure to give names and addresses. We cannot look up complaints that state, "The readers whose names I sent in say they are not getting the paper." You must give us data to work on.

Several of the party organizations have made no response to our recent urgent request that some effort be made to settle bills due us. We are unable to understand why any section should fail to due seriously cripples us in our work here, and we hope that every effort will be made by all concerned to square up accounts due us. Individual comrades should see to it that the matter is brought up before their sections.

The following persons sent in five or

more subscriptions to The Weekly Peo-

ple last week: A. Knight, Pueblo, Colo...... William Walker, Scattle, Wash 10 F. Brown, Cleveland, O..... 10 J. Matthews, Cleveland, O..... Charles Michael, Denver, Colo..... Oscar Brooks, Red Bluff, Cal..... J. R. Stupel, St. Louis, Mo..... Scuttering 145

Total 153 The record of the Monthly for the Ainth and Twelfth Assembly Dis-

and 388 were requested to attend the meetings of the district; if not, their F. Lichtsinn, Peoria, III..... C. Butterworth, Paterson, N. J. locals will be ordered to send others in W. J. Gerry, Colorado Springs, Colo. F. Fellerman, Hartford, Conn..... to get speakers for the mass meeting of Independent Waiters' Union, L. A. No. 393. William Walker, Seattle, Wash ohn Farrell, Lowell, Mass..... Leon Lucoste, New Orleans, La.... Adam Marx, New London, Conn.... A. Van Doesburg, Holland, Mich.... Boston Open Air Meetings. Section Boston will hold open air James McDermott, Woburn, Mass... I. Shapire, Hamilton, Ont., Canada . .

> Scattering the very near futura

(Continued from Page 1.) get near the heathenish temple Wall street so that he could swat the golden calf.

In 1895 I ran up against the Labor Exchange, another of the short cuts to the co-operative commonwealth. Argument for this scheme was thusly: It is not necessary to have a majority. Trusts rule the nation at the present day. Let us form a labor trust that will be more powerful than any corporation and we will have a co-operative commonwealth that will expand and contain the nation more quickly than the people can be converted to Socialist theories through political agitation. The people do not accept theory readily, but they can understand practice. Let us practice our theory every day in the year, and not merely vote for it once a year.

The dreamer thinks to work the so cial revolution so quietly and imperceptibly that it will never be noticed. He puts the cart before the horse when he idvocates the "practice" of Socialism before the revolution has been worked in the minds of the people. One of these Labor Exchange gentlemen told me that no objection to the plan could hold water. He said the mere fact that a large percentage of the means of production is now in the hands of the capitalists was no argument against the Exchange, because all wealth is created by labor out of crude material that has comparatively little value. The crude material exists in abundance all over this continent, and much of it is rated at next to worthless. All that the branches of the Labor Exchange had to do was apply their labor to this crude material and build up new wealth.

The Labor Exchange went the way all things that disregard the fact that capitalism cannot be overthrown with out the workers first capturing the government, and from that, central organ ism of the body politic inaugurating the co-operative commonwealth on a national basis. Insigine, if you can, wage-workers able to create wealth at will, out of next to worthless material, selling their labor power to capitalists until the advent of the discoverer of the Labor Exchange!

One of the features of a reform movement is the "sacrificing" done by the reformers for the benefit of mankind. Here is an extract from a letter: "With me this is a labor of love. Love for humanity and the betterment of mankind I gave up my studies and my work weeks ago and came here to assume the management of affairs, without favor and without price. My work is with the poor—the downtrodden and the op-pressed. I have sacrificed much in this movement. I have crushed down personal aspiration and the ambition my life, that I may devote myself to the work of helping others. The op-pressed are incapable of rising above their present level, and unless some may be found who are willing to sacrifice their personal ambition upon the altar of Duty, then the seal'of doom is impressed upon civilization."

Every letter I received from this man dwelt on the great sacrifices he was making for humanity. I was nearing the end of my wanderings at this time and called him down on some of his gush, and he took such offense that our friendship was severed. The man who goes about proclaiming himself a martyr is not of much use to any movement

One of the duties of the aggressive

Populist was to write to the Congressman representing his district, advising the Congressman how to vote on cer tain measures. It mattered not that the Congressman was elected on a ticket and platform at complete variance with populism, we would put the Congress man on record anyway. The usual answer to such letters was very non-com mittal, the gentleman would be courteous but diplomatic. The best interests of his constituency would determine his action, etc., etc. A little out of this ordinary writing to Congressmen was a letter I sent to W. A. Peffer early in 1896. I had seen in The People an item that reflected in some way on the integrity of the hirsute exhibit from Kansas. I wrote to the Senator asking him to explain. His laconic response "The gold press is a power-for was. evil." But I was then past the callow period when I would have accepted this as an answer to charges made.

Try to pin one of these gentry down to a discussion of facts and they will squirm and dodge at every turn. once had an experience with J. A. Way-land. He cared nothing for criticism so long as thousands continued to buy his paper. He thought that endorsement enough, and he might have added-it pays. No doubt if he let others do his thinking for him he might at once be-

come a full-fledged, intelligent Socialist Now I have no objection to a man thinking as he pleases. Wayland may "think" the moon is made of gree cheese if he likes, but when he pub-lishes some of his "thinking" about Socialism, a subject on which he shows utter ignorance, judged by the standards of scientific Socialism, he will find his "thinking" combated not by other goas-you-please "thinking," but by facts from which there is no getting away.

At that time Mr. Wayland wrote me that he should continue to own and conduct his paper as he saw fit, feeling as G. A. Jennings, East St. Louis, Ill., 10 Peter Nielson, Woburn, Mass..... 10 much confidence in his own integrity as in any party machinery. Wayland claimed to have turned over many thousands to the "cause." I guess the Social Democrats find that Mr. Wayland and his paper are still superior to any organization.

It was a glorious day when the S. I. P. cut loose from all privately-owned papers. The only paper the party can depend on is the one that is owned and controlled by the whole party. Recent developments have shown that the party as a whole can never go against itself. There are a few thousand dollars still due on the plant, but if we but concentrate our means and our efforts on it, that will soon be wiped out. Then we can turn to and drive the fakirs from the field.

(Continued from Page 3.)

mendous in comparison to the amount of capital formerly required. It generally ends in a consolidation of the competing corporations, as may be seen in the consolidation of the competing electrical corporations now composing the electric trust. Competition with trusts may flourish for v time, but with the reorganization of rusts on a more substantial basis, and the weeding-out processes of industrial crises, which result in greater concentration, it becomes less and less effective. Competition, instead of being the life of trade, is the death

That the trust is a passing phase of industrial development is true only in the sense that it is leading to a higher, more efficient and equitable system of production and distribution; but not in the sense that it will relapse into the conditions prevailing in pre-trust production. Such a conclusion is not warranted by the history of trusts or the science of evolution.

The trust, by its co-ordination of industry, elimination of waste and competition, and enormous increase in industry, has demonstrated the feasibility of co-operative production on a large scale, and the ability of such production to provide the necessaries and luxuries of society. The trust, in organizing and training the working class to operate industry without the superintendence and invention of the capitalist class, and in utilizing stock companies and financial institutions run by hired employes in its formation, thus dispensing with the "abstinence" and "saving" of the capitalist class, has proven that class to be a superfluous and useless class. The trust, in fewer words, has demonstrated the social character of industry and emphasized the necessity for social ownership. Social ownership can only be undertaken by the working class. It is the majority class. No other class in society has so little to lose and so much to gain therefrom. The capitalist class, few in number, will strive to retain its anachronistic and unjust possessions; while the middle class would revert to former conditions, if it could. There is no going back, the working class must go forward. For it and it alone must march on to the only solution that the problem can suggest, if the race is not to stagnate or revert to barbarism.

The trust is a transition to Socialism. As the beginning of the capitalist era marked the concentration of industry in factories, as the beginning of the trust era marked the concentration of corporations in combinations, the beginning of the next great era will mark the concentration of combinations in society. Feudalism and capitalism will then have traversed from serf and wage-labor, with their dominating baronial and capitalist classes, to co-operative labor, with its fraternal administration of, for and by the workers-to Socialism. Socialism is the remedy for trusts.

BUFFALO FREE SPEECH FIGHT. This Saturday, May 2, Section Buffalo will resume its fight against the attempt of police Superintendent Bull to suppress the open air meetings held by the Board of Trustees. If the N. E. C. our party in Buffalo. At eight o'clock in the evening of that day the first of a series of open air meetings arranged by the section will be held at the corner Main and Genesee streets. Every reader of this paper is invited to be present.

The followingtwo meetings are also arranged for, to be held at the Labor Lyceum in Florence parlors, 527 Main, near Genesee street. Sunday, May 3, at three p. m., Com-

rade B. Reinstein's lecture on "The May Day versus the Official 'Labor Day' in Sunday, May 10, at three p. m., At-

forney Philip V. Fennely's lecture on "Society and Crime." Pueblo's Election Satisfactory. Pueblo, Colo., April 20 .- Following is

the Socialist Labor Party vote. The Freaks had no ticket in the field: For Mayor, I. A. Knight, 92 votes; for City Clerk, Jacob Klein, 134; for

City Auditor, R. J. Duff, 154; for City Treasurer, Simon Cashmaker, 122; for City Attorney, W. J. Knight, 125; for City Engineer, Jacob Ney, Jr., 159; for Aldermen-First Ward, W. J. Miller, 21; Second Ward, Jacob Frank, 10; Third Ward, Mary Schimmer, 11; Fourth Ward, W. B. Lazaro, 5; Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Wards, no candidates; Eighth Ward, William Juergens, 29. We are very well pleased with the result. Fraternally, J. A. Knight.

REMEMBER

AS TO N. E. C.

A circular issued by Section New York suggesting a change in the construction of the N. E. C. at our next national convention induces me to take up that subject in order to express my opinion through the columns of our party organs.

The subject is not new, it has agitated the party since 1896, different suggestions have been offered and all have been turned down as being wanting and to my mind the one offered by Section New York will not remedy existing evils if put into effect, but will make matters worse. This does not mean that we ought not to make a change, but if we make one to make it so that we will be safe at all times.

The epithets spoken of in that circularcan be better explained if we look at our constitution of the '93 convention and compare it with the constitution of the convention of 1900 and we will find, that we have abandoned demogratic principles. that we have enacted legislation for the past and not for the future, that we have allowed ourselves to be carried off our feet by exceptional cases which should have never influenced a convention; at least, not to such an extent as to take away the power from the membership and put that power into the hands of an executive committee. The first step in that direction was taken by the '96 convention, which (in

order to make legal an illegal act of the N. E. C., it having refused to submit to was declared by the N. E. C. not to be in the interest of the party), added to Sec. 7t, ArtV.: "but if in the opinion of the committee the proposition is not in the interest of the party it shall not be submitted to a general vote unless five per cent. of all the sections in good standing subsequently re-endorse it." We gave those 7 men the same power as have 20 per cent, of the membership, not withstanding the fact that the N. E. C. is in full control of the party press, which enables them to make known their position in a case. But the convention of 1900 went further and put the N. E. C. out of all control of the membership by abolishing the National Board of Appeal and Grievances. Sect. 4, Art. V of the constitution can not be regarded as a substitute for it, as that is equal to open rebellion against the N. E. C. by five different States. In other words, to reach the N. E. C. for wrongdoing we must carry the firebrand into five different States, we must even carry it further, for the convention of 1900 inserted Sect. 7 d of Art. V of the constitution which gives the N. E. C. the right " to expel or suspend any State Executive Committee guilty of disloyalty." But what constitutes disloyalty the constitution does not define, and leaves the N. E. C. the only judge in such matters, and the N. E. C. in full control of the party organs is in a position to keep from the membership everything not in their favor and as a result we have statements and counterstatements sent all over the coun try. This ought to make it clear to everyone, that no matter what kind of a National Executive Committee we may create and we retain those rules, "local troubles will become national and, worst of all, the temper that such a development tends to excite endangers the chances of a calm consideration of the original differences."

As stated above, we have enacted legislation for the past, not for the future. To enact legislation for the past is reactionary and does not speak well for the sturdy democracy that the circular of Section New York speaks off. The convention of 1900 met under the influence of the 10th of July, 1899. It was called to order with a trophy wrung from the Kangaroos and that influence dominated the convention all through. The N. E. C. laid stress on that fact when it called for a general vote for abolishing to extraordinary measures and break the constitution, the convention should have satisfied itself with endorsing their action and should never have gone so far as to make encroachments on the membership. Success lies in the recognition of the fact that-A thing can be carried only to a certain point. If carried further it will reverse itself and work harm. The convention of 1900 in making a rule out of the exception did carry the thing too far and we have experienced the

effect ever since. Section New York, mistaking the effect for the cause, submits a proposition now known to all members. If that proposition prevails, it will embarrass the party more than the old one. We will either have to turn the management of the party over to the middle class or put it into the hands of grafters who want to make a living on the party.

A committee constructed as suggested by Section New York will be a committee on wheels, and it means a loss of time of a day or two for every meeting to be held. The party will, of course, pay for it, if we have the money, but how often would a workingman be allowed to neglect his work to serve the S. L. P.? We have had experience and enough of

it to enable us to draw conclusions and safeguard the party against all comers. With that point in view, I will now make some suggestions. As to the N. E. C. we should amend our constitution before the convention takes place in such a manner that applications for the seat of the N. E. C. can be made by any section having certain qualifications based on the size of the city and S. L. P. votes east, such section, when making application for the seat of the N. E. C., to file with that application a list of fourteen members, which also must have certain qualifications, say four years of such activity in the party as will satisfy the convention. The convention after having chosen the seat of the N. E. C. elects seven out of the fourteen candidates from general vote a proposition which had the list filed by that section, the seven all the constitutional requirements and defeated candidates be placed on the list in numerical order as substitutes to fill vacancies on the committee. The convention also elects an emergency N. E. C. of seven members out of the States having a State Executive Committee and represented at the convention.

I agree with the comrades of New York that "the party organizations should feel directly responsible for their national officers. A system that tends to deader their responsibility is vicious." We should therefore re-establish the National Grievance Committee. Whatever may arise it would be useless for a clique to bag the party by capturing the National Grievance Committee as was the case in the Kangaroo revolt, because the emergency committee would have to take the place of the regular committee, until the difficulty is settled by act of a convention or a general vote. The party membership is directly re-

sponsible for any conditions which may exist. If conditions are bad, it only reflects on the intelligence of the membership, and it lies with the membership to change those conditions. This cannot be done intelligently, however, if we leave everything until and for the convention to do. If it takes a convention a whole week to do a bad job, the rank and file cannot rectify it in one meeting night, and we have nothing to rectify it with and only have the voice to either take what the convention gives us or go without it. That is playing fast and loose with the principle of initiative and refer-endum. We better recognize that fact now and amend our constitution, so that all propositions for a change in the constitution must be made known at least three months before the convention to enable the party membership to instruct the delegates accordingly.

Another point for the party to consider is, how can we shorten the national convention? A long drawn out convention will be a slimly attended convention, as no State can afford to send a full quota of delegates to a convention to last a week, as did the two previous conventions. With such important matters as the alliance question and the N. E. C. question to settle, and other party matters to straighten out, we can not expect that the next convention will be a shorter one; therefore, the alliance question and the N. E. C. question should be settled before the convention.

The delegates to the convention should in order to carry that day had to resort | be elected long enough before the convention to make possible the election of the principal committees through a gen-Committee on Constitution, the Committee on Appeal and Grievances and the Auditing Committee. If all propositions are made known before the convention, this committee have all the material to start its work one or two days ahead and the convention could at once organize for business.

